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The
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THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION AT MADISON

MADISON is a city of much quiet beauty and social attractiveness. It is well fitted for a meeting of a national historical association by the presence of a university community, with a historical faculty of well-known eminence, and by the possession of commodious academic buildings, and especially of an historical library famous for its beauty and its treasures, the most sumptuous home which history enjoys anywhere in America. Thus on the one hand there was much to attract a large number of the members of the Association to the twenty-third annual meeting. On the other hand, though the western membership of the Association is now somewhat greater than the eastern, Madison is not quite central even to the former, while to eastern members it would seem remote; and the railroads, which in former years have deemed it for their interest to make considerable reductions in fares on such occasions, chose this year to take a different view. Therefore the registered attendance, which was 280 at the Chicago meeting of 1904, 276 at that held in Baltimore and Washington, and 280 at Providence, was but 214 at Madison. There was however no lack of numbers, in view of the presence of the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Association for Labor Legislation, and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and attendance by persons not members of any of these societies. Of the proceedings of these other organizations we as usual attempt no record; most of them have organs in which such records are presented. It may suffice to say that their programmes seemed not only rich and varied, but of marked practical utility; and that many

students of history, or teachers whose fields of work embrace more than that science alone, welcomed the opportunity of attending parts of the exercises of the allied societies.

Two drawbacks, and perhaps only two, presented themselves to the minds of the Executive Council when a meeting at Madison was first contemplated. It is not a city of large and excellent hotels, and it is subject to the chances involved in the northwestern climate. Kind Heaven showed favor to the historical forces in the latter respect, bestowing mild days of remarkable beauty, which the most austere scientific mind need not disdain to reckon among the *memorabilia* of the meeting; and the lack of hotels was compensated, or rather turned into a theme of rejoicing, by the abundant hospitality of the academic and other residents of Madison, who exhausted all the means which kindness, ingenuity and organizing ability could suggest, to make the visitors comfortable in fraternity houses, dormitories and private houses. A luncheon at the Woman's Building, a "smoker" at the University Club, and many private entertainments were offered. Special exhibitions of early maps and western manuscripts, of early newspapers and of material for the history of labor and socialism in America, were arranged in the Historical Building, in which most of the sessions of the American Historical Association were held.

The first session, which was a joint meeting with the American Political Science Association, was held on Friday evening in Assembly Hall. In the absence from Madison of President Van Hise, Dean Edward A. Birge of the College of Letters and Science welcomed the associations on the part of both the state and the university. After noting several parallel developments in the organization and aims of workers in the physical sciences and in history, he showed how both were learning to shape their ideas into instruments of public service as well as of the higher learning.

The inaugural address of the President of the American Historical Association, Professor J. Franklin Jameson of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, entitled "The American Acta Sanctorum", has been printed in the January number of this journal.¹

Mr. Frederick N. Judson of St. Louis, President of the American Political Science Association, delivered an inaugural address on "The Future of Representative Government".² He spoke of the existing tendency to diminish the importance and dignity of the

¹ XIII. 286-302.

² Since printed, in the *American Political Science Review* for February, 1908.

legislature through constitutional enactment and judicial annulment, while on the other hand the power of the executive is increasing, and the boards and commissions that represent it also exercise legislative and judicial power. Referring to the popular distrust of the representative system as shown by the agitation in favor of the initiative and referendum, he discussed the advantages and disadvantages of these proposed remedies. Distrust is caused by the abuse of lobbying, which the growth of corporations tends to develop, and by the abuses of party management. Measures for reform, such as the laws abolishing the principle of representation in party nominations, decrease in the number of elected municipal officials, and proportional or minority representation were considered. The system of representation must be made more truly representative and the character of representatives, which our commercialism tends to degrade, must be maintained through the development of a public spirit ready to make sacrifices.

The second session, held on Saturday morning, consisted of two conferences. That on the Relation of Geography and History was largely attended and aroused great interest. Professor Frederick J. Turner of the University of Wisconsin presided. In the first paper Miss Ellen Churchill Semple of Louisville, Kentucky, discussed "Geographical Location as a Factor in History". Her main conclusions were as follows: The location of a country is the supreme geographical fact in its history. The dispersion of a people over a wide, boundless area has a disintegrating tendency, while the opposite result follows concentration within a restricted national base. A people situated between two other peoples generally forms an ethnical and cultural link between the two. The unifying effect of vicinal location is greatly enhanced if the neighboring people are grouped about an enclosed sea. An even closer connection exists between adjoining nations united by ties of blood and economically dependent upon one another because of a contrast in physical conditions. The two chief types of continuous location are the central and peripheral. The former means opportunity for widening territory and the exercise of a wide-spread influence, but it also means danger; the latter means a narrow base but a protected frontier along the sea. All nations strive to combine both a central and a peripheral location. An admirable combination of the two is in the United States; but our country has paid for its security by an historical aloofness and poverty of influence. The accessibility of the maritime periphery tends to raise it in culture, wealth, density of

population, and often in political importance, in advance of the centre. It blends diverse over-sea influences and passes them on to the interior. Each inland frontier has to reckon with a different neighbor and an undivided influence of varying historical importance. Location is the geographical factor in history most subject to the vicissitudes attending the anthropo-geographical evolution of the earth—the transfer of the seats of civilization.

The second paper, by Professor Orin Grant Libby of the University of North Dakota, dealt with "Physiography as a Factor in Community Life". To indifference in physiography as well as in education and religion he ascribed the early national leadership of Virginia and the provincialism of New England. But his principal illustrations were drawn from North Dakota. Here the Mandans, in the rich and sheltered valley of the Missouri, developed a civilization superior to that of any other Indians of the Northwest; while the Chippewa or Ojibway tribe, migrating from the Great Lakes to the Turtle Mountain Plateau, lost many of their arts and degenerated to a lower plane of culture. The method and character of the white occupation of the state was predetermined by its physiography. Its double drainage system—the Missouri and Red Rivers—made it a battle-ground of rival fur companies and of contending nationalities, whose rivalry for the Indian trade led to Lord Selkirk's settlement near Winnipeg, which brought the first white settlers into the state. The results of these physiographic conditions and the consequent fur-trade occupation of the state were: the perpetuation of nomadic life and the delayed development of agriculture, due to the presence of the buffalo herd; the long retention by England of the Red River valley and the establishment of forts by the United States government; the numerous half-breed population, due to the long occupation of the state by Indian tribes and resident trading companies; and the ignoring of international boundary lines in favor of larger physiographic boundaries.

The discussion of the morning's papers was opened by Professor George L. Burr of Cornell, who argued that geography, though a factor in history, is only a factor, and that no more in history than in mathematics can the outcome be inferred from a single factor alone. Though all that man does and is be but the product of himself into his environment, it must never be forgotten that he too is a factor, and oftener the active than the passive, the multiplier than the multiplicand. Recognition of this is often obscured by an ambiguous or inexact use of words. Thus "location" may denote

either an act or the result of an act: it may mean a placing or a place. When Miss Semple tells us that "the most important geographical fact in the past history of the United States has been their location on the Atlantic opposite Europe" we are in danger of forgetting that she speaks, not of a condition, but of an achievement—for what has made the story of the colonists other than that of the aborigines is not geographical position, but their European birth and training, their ships and their compass, the friends they left behind and the habits which engendered their trade. To impute action or causation, influence or control, to things which are inert is a figure of speech which gives vigor to style, but which always involves a fallacy; and when to nature is imputed what is planned and achieved by man, the sufferer from the fallacy is history.

Dr. Harlan H. Barrows, instructor in the University of Chicago, defended a position intermediate between that of Miss Semple and that of Professor Burr.

Professor Ulrich B. Phillips of the University of Wisconsin exhibited two maps that illustrated the relation of geography and history. One map showed the location of the white and negro population in the South in 1850; the other, the distribution of Whig and Democratic votes in presidential elections in 1848. In the lower South the Whig majorities were situated in the Black Belt, the region of the great plantations, which developed an aristocratic spirit antagonistic to the principles of Jacksonian democracy, and up to 1860 cast their votes in the interest of the Union. In the upper South the distribution of the Whigs is explained by other causes, such as the desire for internal improvements, for the tariff, strong states'-rights feeling, etc.

Professor Ralph S. Tarr, President of the American Geographical Society, and Professor George B. Adams of Yale University, returning to the discussion of the first two papers, suggested that disagreement was caused partly by lack of definition of terms. Professor H. Morse Stephens of the University of California, Professor N. M. Trenholme of the University of Missouri and Miss Semple also took part in the discussion, the last-named answering objections which had been raised against the arguments which she had advanced, and completing them in points in which they had been misunderstood.

The other conference of Saturday morning was the usual gathering to discuss the problems of state and local historical societies. Mr. Frank H. Severance of the Buffalo Historical Society

was its chairman. Its secretary, Professor Evarts B. Greene of the University of Illinois, read a careful report on the year's progress in the work of the societies, reviewing the legislation of the year for historical work, the appropriations made, the other additions to the resources of the societies, the additions to their buildings and equipment and to the series of their publications, and dwelling also on significant new enterprises undertaken by some of them. He reported much increase in the appropriations made in the middle West for historical purposes, and forcibly advocated better planning of what to do with the appropriations, completer care in the avoidance of waste and duplication, fuller co-operation among societies and better editing.

The foremost topic of discussion in the conference was "The Co-operation of State Historical Societies in the Gathering of Material in Foreign Archives". Doctor Dunbar Rowland, the director of the Department of Archives and History in Mississippi, reviewed the relation of the societies to the archives of Great Britain, France and Spain, and the nature of the materials to be found in the latter; read the instructions which he had given to searchers and copyists in Seville; discussed concrete measures for the avoidance of unnecessary duplication (it was admitted that some duplication is necessary) by the preparation and circulation of calendars founded on preliminary searches; and proposed the formation of a committee of seven to deal with this matter.

Professor Clarence W. Alvord, who has lately become the chief historical adviser to the Illinois State Historical Library, emphasized the special importance of such measures to the West and especially to the societies of the Mississippi Valley. If each such society draws off from the archives of Spain or France all that in any sense relates to its territory, there is much duplication, on account of the originally undivided character of this region; if on the other hand each takes only that which in the strictest sense belongs to it, large masses of material relating to the whole valley will be left untouched. There should be more systematic planning for their volumes, so that we may know what we are likely to find in each. He described four possible plans of action: a close federation of the Western historical societies, with a central committee, publishing one general collection; a looser federation with four minor groups, each preparing publications for its particular section; a division of Western history into periods, with an arrangement whereby each society should deal with all the

general materials relating to the period assigned to it; and, less completely effective, but less likely to encounter obstacles in the local pride of states or societies, a central committee of information, with a clearing-house at the Carnegie Institution or the Library of Congress. A committee of seven to canvass the whole matter was appointed by the chairman of the conference. Mr. Rowland was designated as chairman of the committee; the other members are Messrs. W. C. Ford, E. B. Greene, J. F. Jameson, T. M. Owen, B. F. Shambaugh and R. G. Thwaites.

This may be the most appropriate point at which to speak of the formation of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, which was organized at Madison during the period of the meeting chronicled in this article. Its executive committee consists of Dr. Thomas M. Owen as president, Professor Clarence W. Alvord as vice-president, Mr. Clarence S. Paine as secretary and treasurer, Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites and Mr. George W. Martin. The object of this new society, which it is understood will stand in some relation of affiliation to the American Historical Association, is to promote mutual consultation among the officers and members of the various organizations already existing and to care in other ways for the interests of special work in the history of this western region. It may be expected that whatever plans are suggested as advisable by the committee named above may find their best means of execution through this new association, which will be able to exercise upon the state historical agencies a strong influence in favor of whatever measures of co-operation may commend themselves to the new organization. The latter, it is expected, will consist largely of officers of the existing and more local bodies.

Next in the proceedings of the conference, Miss Lucy M. Salmon, professor in Vassar College, read a paper on "Scientific Organization of Historical Museums". The speaker outlined the reasons why museums are often lightly esteemed: chiefly lack of judgment in selecting material and lack of skilled curators. There is need of specialization in the establishment of museums. After enumerating and describing various types the speaker urged that a museum should represent a single idea, not a miscellaneous collection of objects. In the case of historical museums we have concentrated too much attention on manuscript material. We should try to preserve objects characteristic of each region or of each stage of development—the log-cabin, the plantation, the red schoolhouse. Curators should have many natural qualifications, and should be trained for their work.

Mr. Julian P. Bretz, instructor in the University of Chicago, emphasized the need of historical museums in colleges and universities, and made a special point of the fact that there should be a direct connection between the museum and research. Museums should aim to offer opportunities for research. The principles which are guiding the development of the historical museum of the University of Chicago were pointed out. Relics and curiosities are discarded. The purpose is to establish additional means of preserving material, and to gather educational objects such as facsimiles, maps and broadsides, which may become a valuable teaching adjunct. The difference between historical and industrial museums was discussed.

A paper on "Co-operation of Local Historical Societies" by Mr. John F. Ayer, secretary of the Bay State Historical League, was read by the secretary of the conference. The Bay State League is a union of local historical societies in Massachusetts. The great success which has attended its formation was enlarged upon. The main results secured were increased interest, opportunity to exchange views and papers, a widening of the field of work of individual societies and an increased membership.

The session of Saturday evening, a general session of the association, was devoted to papers in European History. In the opening paper, entitled "The Programme of a Puritan State", Professor Herbert D. Foster of Dartmouth College discussed the contributions to Puritanism made by five documents adopted by Geneva between the years 1536 and 1541. Of these, the first edition of Calvin's *Institutes* insisted upon man's moral obligation as a plain deduction from the fundamental premise of the sovereignty of God and of his Word; it provided for training in and enforcement of morals, and safeguarded both liberty and law. Calvin rendered service to modern liberty, first, by pointing out the divinely ordained duty of constitutional representatives of the people to "moderate the power of kings"; secondly, by training men with the moral poise and power necessary for constitutional revolution and representative government. In 1537 the first steps toward the formation of a Puritan state in Geneva were taken by a partial adoption of the "Articles concerning the Organization of the Church" and by the enforcement of a Biblical Confession of Faith as a test of citizenship and church membership. In the catechism printed by the state, Calvin provided a training and test for the admission of children to the church, and in his system of discipline and excom-

munication a training and pruning of its adult membership. When the Caesaropapist state infringed on the church's liberty of preaching and ceremonies, Calvin and Farel illustrated the Puritan temper in preferring exile to violation of the "Word of God". The "Ecclesiastical Ordinances" enacted by Geneva on Calvin's recall mark the nominal adoption of a systematic organization of the religious and moral life of the little republic under the co-operative control of a church and a state which possessed distinct jurisdictions but acknowledged one authority—the Word of God. The programme marked by these five documents bred the Puritan temper.

The next paper, on "Legazpi and Philippine Colonization", was read by Mr. James A. Robertson of Madison. He first compared with the four preceding expeditions to the Philippines, the expedition of Legazpi, despatched in 1564 under orders to colonize the islands for Spain, although they lay within Portugal's demarcation. He then gave an account of the highest officers of the expedition, Legazpi, long a resident of Mexico, and Urdaneta, the chief navigator, one of the five Augustinians who accompanied him. He set forth the difficulties that Legazpi encountered—famine, mutiny, and the hostility and treachery of the Portuguese as well as of the natives. But in spite of dangers and of the neglect of both Spain and New Spain, Legazpi accomplished his task. At the time of his death in 1572 the great pioneer, ably seconded by his officers and the friars, had established the settlements of Cebú and Manila; had removed in great measure the distrust of the natives; had explored and pacified much of the island territory; had established trade with the natives as well as with the Chinese; had arrested the progress of Mohammedanism, which had extended as far as Manila; and had laid the broad lines of Spanish administration in the Philippines. Legazpi's claim to greatness does not rest in the origination of colonial principles, but in the manner in which he carried out his instructions; in his loyalty to king and cause; in his independence of action and freedom from domination by the friars; in his resources, humanity, integrity, patience, prudence and tact. Industry and the family were, he saw clearly, the foundations of a permanent colony. His conquest and colonization were essentially peaceful.

Dr. Roger B. Merriman, instructor in Harvard University, read a paper on "The Elizabethan Government and the English Catholics: Another Phase of the Question", which is printed in subsequent pages of this journal. Professor James Westfall Thompson of the University of Chicago followed with a paper entitled

"Some Economic Factors in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes", which we are to have the privilege of printing in a later issue.

In the concluding paper of the session Professor Wilbur C. Abbott of the University of Kansas treated of "The Beginning of English Political Parties". The earliest party divisions after the Restoration bore religious names but were really political, Anglican and Presbyterian. The former first gained ascendancy under Clarendon. Their programme was a stronger, though still Parliamentary, royal power, restricted personal liberties, relief of the landed classes in taxation, occupation with domestic concerns, and strict conformity. Against them the Presbyterians stood for toleration. The king, desiring royal indulgence for Catholicism, drew together a part of his friends, soon known as the Courtiers. These stood for toleration by prerogative, protection, personal liberty and vigorous foreign policy. By 1667 they overthrew Clarendon, but the ensuing ministry, the nonconformist Cabal, alienated the opposition, now known as Country Gentlemen, by their tolerance for the Catholics and reliance on prerogative. In 1670 the royal intrigues divided the Cabal into Catholic and Protestant sections. The struggle increased, and culminated in events surrounding the second Dutch war, 1672-1674. The Test Act was passed, eliminating the Catholics. Shaftesbury was dismissed and joined the triumphing Country Party, and the court was reorganized under Danby. By 1674 the organization, methods and issues were fully defined. For the court, greater executive power, French alliance, conformity, prerogative, stood out as essentials; for the country, greater power of the legislature, freedom of Parliament and personal liberty, anti-French policy. Thereafter save in details these did not change in spite of the excesses on either side. Whig and Tory were practically in existence, save for the name, by 1674.

The session of Monday morning was given up to five separately-organized discussions of special fields of work, "round-table" conferences of actual workers, all held at the same time. Useful as they proved in several instances, the want of a distinction in their proceedings between the work of teaching and that of research was apparent. It was also noticeable that, though free discussion had been chiefly intended, set papers prevailed. The five fields discussed were those of medieval European history, modern European history, Oriental history and politics, the constitutional history of the United States, and United States history since 1865, respectively.

The discussion on Medieval European History was opened by

the chairman, Professor G. L. Burr, who commented on the difficulties of teaching the American child the history of other lands in other times, and stated the question proposed for consideration: How should medieval history be written and taught for Americans?

Professor J. H. Robinson of Columbia University, in an entertaining talk, declared that a course in medieval history offers the grand opportunity "to leave things out". The Middle Ages are needed for explanatory purposes; they should be studied and taught to show "how things came about" rather than to show "how things were". Applying this test, the period from Gregory the Great to Abelard has, he thought, "all the darkness and gloom usually attributed to it", and should be skipped. The emphasis put upon that period hitherto is due to the "vicious perspective" of the Germans. Not even the age of Charlemagne was excepted when Professor Robinson proposed that everything from Gregory to Abelard should be introductory and that modern history should begin with Abelard and be traced thereafter as a steady development.

Professor Munro of Wisconsin felt that the first speaker, and modern historians generally, wished to carry modern history back too far, and declared himself content with the common division of history between medieval and modern. Still he had no sympathy with studying only that which is peculiar to the Middle Ages, but advocated the study of that which the Middle Ages have in common with modern times. Thus he would omit much, but nothing that is essential, and therefore would not and could not skip the period from Gregory to Abelard. He stated with emphasis that the thing of first importance is to teach medieval history so as to make it applicable to modern conditions. He also maintained that, as medieval history is usually the first college course in history, it must give the student something of method as well as of historical fact. In general agreement with these opinions was the paper read by Professor Dow of Michigan.

Professor Haskins of Harvard conceded that there must be omissions in teaching the medieval period, but could not countenance skipping the period from Gregory to Abelard. "We may run, but not jump." The fact that American students are more interested in the late, than in the early Middle Ages makes Professor Haskins willing to hasten over the earlier parts. He believes this preference of students for the later period attributable to their liking for biography which the early Middle Ages do not satisfy; and he has encouraged the reading of biography in his course at Harvard.

Professor Haskins also commented upon the variety of interests and demands which students bring to their courses and advocated such a presentation of the course, whether by lecture, discussion, assigned readings, or other method, that there be something for everybody; a course in medieval history should stimulate a student to variety of reading and should give "background".

Professor Thompson of the University of Chicago also objected to skipping the centuries from Gregory to Abelard. They are centuries not only of decadence but also—and this is the all-important fact—of formation of new institutions; and, if the decadence is unworthy of study, the formative processes cannot be ignored, especially not by the student of modern history. Considered in this light it is difficult to see why modern history, even if near at hand, should be considered more enlightening than medieval history.

Professor Harding of Indiana came to the support of the study of the differences between medieval and modern history and claimed for it an educational value not to be despised. He further contended that generalizations should be avoided in teaching history, and that all instruction should be concrete. The general discussion was participated in by Professor Scott of Chicago Theological Seminary, Professor Richardson of Beloit College and Professor Flick of Syracuse.

The second conference was devoted to Modern European History. Professor Guy Stanton Ford of the University of Illinois presided. The first paper was read by Professor Ralph C. H. Catterall of Cornell University, who discussed the extent to which work in modern European history could be carried on in this country and maintained that for the making of monographs nine-tenths of the material desired could be obtained here. He spoke of the difficulties met in working in the history of any foreign country, the want of sympathetic comprehension on the part of those not native born and the lack, even, of intellectual comprehension, as illustrated by the efforts of the English in writing on the French Revolution. Mr. Catterall maintained that notwithstanding this the field was an excellent one for Americans and that the difficulties described could be met in part by travel. He then compared the library facilities of America with those of Europe and urged that all the material available should be thoroughly studied here before the student goes abroad. The extent of the collections at Cornell for the study of the French Revolution were described at some length and the way was thus prepared for two suggestions: that

a good description of the valuable collections in each of the American universities be made so that a student might know where to look for the best material on any subject in modern European history; and that each university library devote itself to a special field of collection and avoid duplicating the work of other universities.

The paper was discussed by Professor Charles A. Beard of Columbia University, by Professor G. S. Ford and by Professor Frank M. Anderson of the University of Minnesota. Professor Beard sought to define more closely the "division of labor" advocated for university libraries. Professor Ford discussed our special advantages as outsiders and suggested that it might devolve upon Americans to furnish general histories of Europe. He maintained that we could go beyond monographic work and attempt that which is synthetic. Professor Anderson followed in the same sense.

The second paper, prepared by Professor Fred M. Fling, of the University of Nebraska, and read in his absence by Dr. Christophelmeyer, dealt with the tradition that seminary work in America on subjects in modern European history is impossible. Mr. Fling maintained that lack of material for this purpose could not be urged and demonstrated the manner in which a working library on the period just preceding the French Revolution and for the French Revolution had been collected at the University of Nebraska. This was followed by a full explanation of the method employed in the seminars at Nebraska, the subjects considered and the results obtained. Professor C. A. Beard read a paper arguing in favor of a greater study of contemporary history and advocating the establishment of a journal of contemporary history to be published twice a year. This journal should show where the latest documents are to be found and indicate the most recent works on contemporary affairs. For a more general magazine of modern European history he saw no opportunity. The paper read by Professor H. G. Plum of the University of Iowa advocated a greater emphasis on the study of the economic factors in European history, and illustrated his point by reference to the economic factors in the history of the Reformation and in the period of Elizabeth. The paper was discussed briefly by Dr. Eckhardt of the University of Missouri. Professor E. D. Adams of Leland Stanford University next made a plea for a more thorough study of the connections of American history with contemporary European history. Though such study had been undertaken for a few aspects of American history, there were still many in which these connections remained unstudied and imper-

fectly understood. His illustrations dealt with the relations of England and the United States in the matter of the West Indian trade and with the connection between British emancipation in the West Indies and Nullification in South Carolina. The last paper of the session was prepared by Professor Robert M. Johnston of Bryn Mawr College, and was read by Dr. Eckhardt. Mr. Johnston advocated measures designed to prevent the teaching of generalizations in the schools and suggested a greater study of historical geography as a substitute for general statements commonly advanced in the text-books.

At the conference on Oriental History and Politics Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge of Harvard University presided. The opening paper by Dr. Arthur I. Andrews, instructor in Simmons College, was an account, based on official information, of the courses in Oriental history offered in American universities. So far as ascertained no courses in Asiatic history are required. Of courses that are elective for both graduate and undergraduate students, a considerable number deal with the history of Western Asia in the Middle Ages, including courses upon the life of Mohammed, on the spread of Islam, on the crusades, on the caliphates and on Byzantine history. There are several courses upon Western Asia in modern times, especially upon the history of the Ottoman Turks, and upon the Nearer Eastern Question. The history of Middle Asia appears to be separately treated in only one course, on Persia and India. Practically all of the courses relative to Eastern Asiatic history are concerned with the modern period. Several institutions offer graduate work in Asiatic history. With two or three exceptions, no university offers any one general course or any system of courses planned to cover the whole field of Asiatic history.

Professor Dennis of the University of Wisconsin spoke of the need of courses giving a general survey of Asiatic history, and of the necessity of relating Oriental history to Greek history; the history of Central Asia to that of Western Asia; and the earlier to the modern period.

Dr. Charles D. Tenney, ex-president of Pei Yang College, read a thoughtful paper relative to China, in which after recounting the various reasons for our neglect of Chinese history, and setting forth the immense importance of the recent formal adoption by China of modern Western education, science and political ideals, he urged the necessity of studying the history and characteristics of

Asiatics. Progress or stagnation in race development, he said, is due to complex causes quite aside from ability. The arrested development of language in China is due to the too early production of a literature so valuable that it held the written symbols to their ancient rude forms. The early writers diverted the whole mental energy of the race into literature and abstract thought, and have kept it out of the channels of material science; but the Mongolian race will soon enter into our whole heritage. We must study their history and institutions to prepare us for readjustments in our international relationships.

In the absence of Dr. Kan-Ichi Asakawa, instructor in Yale University, his paper on Japan was read by Dr. Hiram Bingham. Dr. Asakawa pointed out the practical political need and the theoretical interest of a better knowledge of the Orient. After briefly sketching the various stages of Japanese political development, and the corresponding periods of her moral and spiritual growth, each with its own forms of art and modes of life presenting many interesting problems, he passed to a discussion of historical sources. While only half-a-dozen important sources of Japanese history have been translated, some degree of reliable knowledge may be obtained through the works of Brinkley, Mazelière, Papinot and Wenckstern, and the publications of learned societies. The collections of Japanese historical sources in the original language now in the Library of Congress in Washington and in the library of Yale University are larger and better than at any other places outside Japan.

Dr. Vickars discussed the obstacles that confront the student of Japanese history—sources are largely in manuscript, are widely scattered and have been sophisticated, history having been written not as it was but as the rulers wished it to be written. In response to a question from the chair, Dr. Tenney explained that what had been said of the unauthentic character of Japanese historical sources did not apply to those in China. Chinese scholars had the scientific spirit of Confucius, who excluded the miraculous, and they possessed great critical skill. Yet there existed unauthorized histories which included the miraculous.

The fourth conference, on the Constitutional History of the United States, was presided over by Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago. Professor William MacDonald of Brown University, who spoke informally on the use of constitutional decisions in the teaching of constitutional history.

strongly recommended that the reading required of students should include the full texts of many reports of constitutional decisions, which show the processes by which the final opinion is reached and often contain valuable historical summaries not obtainable elsewhere. Decisions of the Supreme Court are the best summaries of what the people have thought on questions at issue, and in the long run faithfully reflect public opinion. The teacher of constitutional history should be a fair constitutional lawyer and should require of his students a fair mastery of the essentials of some such treatise as Cooley's *Principles of Constitutional Law*. In a course in constitutional history however, as compared with one in constitutional law, emphasis should be placed on development. Attention was called to the limitations of court decisions, which for example tend to ignore economic aspects. The discussion was participated in by Professors McLaughlin, Edward S. Corwin of Princeton University, Theodore C. Smith of Williams College and George W. Knight of Ohio State University, some of whom expressed the opinion that so detailed a study of cases as Professor MacDonald had urged, overemphasized the importance of this form of material. Professor Smith believed that in the study of the Civil War and Reconstruction, for example, legislation and constitutional enactments were more important.

Professor William E. Dodd of Randolph-Macon College developed two points: the origin of the Jeffersonian following in Virginia and the influence of the study of Coke on Littleton and of Blackstone on the particularist and nationalist interpretations of the Constitution respectively. He showed how before 1776 Patrick Henry had built up in the state a strong democratic and colonial rights party, of which Jefferson managed to place himself at the head, and which sustained him in his later reform movements in the state, as well as in his later national career. Up to about 1770 Coke on Littleton, which tends to magnify the local at the expense of the central power of the state, had been used exclusively by the Virginia lawyers at William and Mary College. Blackstone's *Commentaries*, which emphasized the sovereign power in the state as reposed in the crown, reached America in the early seventies and displaced Coke on Littleton. Marshall was trained in Blackstonian law and thought, and when he came to interpret the Constitution favored the national at the expense of the state government. Jefferson, Madison, Henry and Roane were influenced by Coke on Littleton in the opposite direction, and were able by their command

of the popular party to make Virginia almost overwhelmingly favorable to states' rights.

Professor Corwin in support of Professor Dodd's hypothesis cited a letter of Jefferson in 1826 in which he deplores the displacement of Coke on Littleton by Blackstone. Blackstone was however used also by those who favored states' rights. What he emphasized was sovereignty. One school found this in the central government, the other in the states. Professor Corwin proceeded to discuss the influence of the doctrine of natural rights on court decisions. He cited numerous cases to prove that the courts are tending more and more to invoke the doctrine of natural rights in passing on the validity of legislative enactments. He found that the doctrine is most frequently invoked in behalf of propertied interests, that is, as a conservative weapon.

Professor Ernst Freund of the University of Chicago spoke of analogous attempts of German and English courts to find some extra-constitutional ground for determining upon the validity of legislation. In the United States the courts are striving to prevent legislative autocracy. The doctrine of natural rights has been invoked frequently in this attempt, but it is doubtful whether any clear principle can be found to harmonize the increasing number of decisions involving extra-constitutional appeals, such as Professor Corwin had endeavored to show.

United States History since 1865 was the subject of the fifth conference, over which Professor James A. Woodburn of Indiana University presided. The first paper, on the United States as a Peace Power, was read by Professor Amos S. Hershey of Indiana University. The speaker showed that in the main the United States has been a peace power from the time of the Jay Treaty to the Hague Conference. We were credited with fifty-seven cases of arbitration, of which twenty had been with Great Britain. The efforts of the late Secretary Hay towards securing the open-door policy in China and its territorial integrity; the work of President Roosevelt in connection with the Treaty of Portsmouth; and the important part played by the United States at the Hague Conference in advocating a high court of justice, a general treaty of arbitration and a plan for a periodical conference, mark our growth as a peace power; while freedom from duplicity and avarice has been shown by the return of the indemnity to China.

Professor Carl Russell Fish of the University of Wisconsin concluded from his experience as a teacher that the passions engendered

by the Civil War made it impossible at present to deal satisfactorily with the later years. He believed however that it was desirable to make the attempt, and outlined various methods that he had tried. The lack of well-edited sources prevented the use of this period for good training-courses or as a means of developing the critical faculty.

Professor Frank H. Hodder of the University of Kansas read a paper on the Johnson-Grant correspondence, in which he urged that the real significance of this controversy had hitherto escaped the notice of historians. He thought that the quarrel was one of the most important factors that induced Grant to run for the presidency, while at the same time it secured for him the support of the radical element.

Professor John H. Latané of Washington and Lee University spoke on America as a World Power. Prior to 1898 the Monroe Doctrine found its sanction in the separateness of the European and American hemispheres. Mr. Latané maintained that the United States had never really interfered in the affairs of Europe; in cases where it had appeared to do so, a close analysis would show that the United States was directly interested in the matter. He advocated the study of diplomatic history since 1865 because the sources are easily accessible and because the passions and prejudice which mark our internal history are absent from the study of foreign relations.

Mr. William Dudley Foulke, formerly United States Civil Service Commissioner, spoke on the Civil Service since the War. He showed how valuable the competitive system had been as compared with the discretionary or patronage system of appointment, and believed that the reform had succeeded because the law had been skillfully drafted and able men had enforced and extended it.

In the discussion which followed, Professor Macy of the University of Iowa maintained that the prejudice to be overcome in the study of this period was not a reason for turning away from it. Professor Caldwell of the University of Nebraska took a similar view. The real difficulty, he held, is overabundance of material.

The last two sessions, that of Monday evening and that of Tuesday morning, were devoted to the reading of papers. Those of Monday evening related to American Economic History. Professor St. George L. Sioussat of the University of the South presented a detailed study of Economics and Politics in the Early Years of the

Jacksonian Period, which will appear in a modified form in a later number of this journal. Mr. Alfred Holt Stone, of Dunleith, Mississippi, and of Washington, followed with a paper, to be published in our July number, on "Some Problems in Southern Economic History".

Professor Frederic L. Paxson's paper on "The Pacific Railways and the Disappearance of the Frontier in America" was an attempt to show how and why the frontier disappeared in the early eighties of the nineteenth century.

The line of the frontier, generally parallel to the Atlantic seaboard, advanced regularly and gradually to the west until it halted about 1850 in the vicinity of the ninety-fifth meridian. At this time it assumed a circular form, surrounded by the Pacific states, Texas, and the first tier of trans-Mississippi states, and enclosing the Rocky Mountains and what was known as the Great American Desert. This shape and its enclosed area changed but little for a period of thirty years, but between 1880 and 1885 it suddenly collapsed, and a few years later was gone. The reason for the surprising change from a gradual to a sudden method of destruction is found in the relative infertility of the semi-arid region, which did not invite settlement within its area and acted as a barrier until the pressure upon it was strong enough to break through and cross it at a single bound. In the final period the frontier was attacked, not by the individual pioneer, but by the railroad, aided by federal land-grants. The attack was general and comprehensive. It began in 1862 in the Union and Central Pacific bills, and was continued in 1864 by the Northern Pacific, in 1866 by the Atlantic Pacific, and in 1871 by the Texas and Pacific. While the roads were under construction the Indian policy was revised and concentration upon reservations became the rule. The completion in 1869 of the Union and Central Pacific railroads split in two the area enclosed by the frontier. This was followed by the panic of 1873, which checked railway construction. But when prosperity revived about 1879 construction was resumed and five new continental routes were opened in 1882-1884. The paper traced the history of these various Pacific railways and showed how they brought the frontier abruptly to an end.

In the subsequent discussion upon the general field of these papers in American economic history, Professor W. E. Dodd dwelt upon the necessity of taking into account the personal equation in the settlement of historical problems, using as an example the

career of R. J. Walker in its effect upon the history of slavery. Dr. B. H. Meyer, of the Wisconsin Railroad Commission, emphasized the need of such special monographs as had been presented and suggested several topics for further research, such as the outbreaks of violence connected with the joining of the short railroad lines so as to form trunk lines; the rivalry among towns for transportation privileges; the rivalry among the various means of transportation; the history of waterways, etc. Professor F. W. Moore of Vanderbilt University, Professor U. B. Phillips and Professor Willcox of Cornell University also took part in the discussion.

The concluding session, held on Tuesday morning, was devoted to the reading of papers in Western History, followed by a brief, informal discussion. Professor Frank M. Anderson of the University of Minnesota read the opening paper, which treated of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 from the Standpoint of Western History. He argued that there is a considerable element of error in the commonly accepted ideas about the resolutions, owing to neglect of the strictly contemporaneous and western points of view. Special attention was called to the county meetings held in Kentucky and Virginia in 1798 prior to the convening of the legislatures which adopted the resolutions. The initiative in the presentation of the resolutions to the legislatures, he declared, came from these meetings rather than from Jefferson and the Republican leaders in Congress, to whom it is usually ascribed. The principal occasion for the resolutions was not the Alien and Sedition Laws, but western opposition to the eastern policy in regard to war with France. This opposition sprang largely from sectional and economic interests. Points of similarity in the two sets of resolutions, he held, have been exaggerated, while important points of difference have been overlooked. The most important constitutional questions raised by the resolutions, the nature of the federal union and the proper method of checking federal encroachment upon the reserved rights of the states, received relatively scant attention at the time, owing to the concentration of attention upon the question of peace or war and the war measures of the federal government.

The second paper, in which Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of Texas reported on the Material for Southwestern History in the Archives of Mexico, is printed in the present number of this journal.

In the third paper Professor Anna Heloise Abel of the Woman's College of Baltimore carefully set forth the various Proposals for an

Indian State, from 1778 to 1878. In 1778 and six years later the Indians were given permission, upon which they did not act, to form a state of their own. During many subsequent years other plans, such as colonization, removal and incorporation, were advanced. During Monroe's second term, when Indian troubles in Georgia reached a climax, the administration united the plans of removal and colonization, and advised the introduction of a governmental system of which statehood would have been the natural outcome. Congressional action was taken at the same time, looking towards the erecting of a regular territory for Indians exclusively. Under John Quincy Adams, Secretary Barbour advocated a great territorial government west of the Mississippi River, for which a bill projected by him supplied administrative machinery. Under Jackson, however, the Act of 1830 aimed at removal but not at organization or future citizenship. Dissatisfaction with the chaotic state of affairs in the western Indian country came largely from the red men themselves, who asked for a delegate in Congress. A commission, appointed in 1832 to investigate the matter, favored organization; but the bills for this, reported during several sessions, all failed, being regarded as administration measures; while some Southerners took issue on the color line. The Texas question was already beginning to be agitated, and since in case of war with Mexico the Indians might become dangerous, and since they were a menace to the western frontier, military supervision was deemed the wisest course. In spite of the promises of the government and the efforts of individuals no progress was made in the granting of political concessions, up to the close of Fillmore's administration. By that time the government was looking forward to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, to the passage of which an organization of the kind originally proposed might have proved an insurmountable obstacle. After the Civil War the building of the large railways made territorial government urgent. This the Indians opposed, believing that it would involve a mixed state, which public opinion increasingly favored. President Grant wished an exclusively Indian state, but after 1878 this idea was practically abandoned.

The fourth paper, by Mr. John C. Parish of the State Historical Society of Iowa, on "An Early Fugitive Slave Case West of the Mississippi River", has since its delivery been printed in the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. The last paper, by President Kendrick C. Babcock of the University of Arizona, dealt with "The Proprietary Towns of Arizona". He

showed how the very rapid development of the mineral resources of the Rocky Mountain region, especially in the Southwest, the large number of men employed and the great capital required by the corporations operating the mines, have combined to produce some interesting variations from the type of town found in the East or Middle West. The towns discussed are: Jerome, Bisbee, Douglas, Warren, Clifton and Morenci in Arizona, and Cananea and Sonora just over the border in Mexico. While these are not owned and managed as private estates like the English Bourneville or Pelzer, South Carolina; nor, except Warren, built according to plans and specifications, they all show some common evidences of proprietary control. The chief features of this control are four: ownership of lands and buildings used by citizens; ownership, direct or indirect, of public utilities; the company stores; and ownership or equally effective indirect control of the means of communication with the outside world. The public utilities managed by the great corporation are water supply, electric light and power systems, and telephone systems. The service is usually good and the prices moderate, for the monopoly is primarily for the company's own operations, and the supply of the utility to the town incidental. No one is compelled to trade at the company stores, but competition, while nominally free, is closely regulated by them. Except at Cananea the city or town is in each case dependent for its transportation to and from the outside world on a railroad owned directly or indirectly by one of the great mining interests, which thus has a vital grip on the town. In politics in the municipality the companies are not so greatly and immediately interested as in the county assessors, county boards of equalization and members of the territorial legislatures, which control assessments and rates of taxation. In general the companies succeed through their influence in these proprietary towns in electing men favorable to the corporate interests.

It remains to speak of the annual business meeting, which exhibited the usual impressive array of activities on the part of the Association, marked notable progress in several, and established some that are new. In accordance with a previous vote of the Association, it was announced that the annual meeting of 1908 would begin in Washington on Monday, December 28, and would continue at Richmond from December 29 to 31. On recommendation of the Executive Council, the Association voted that the meeting of 1909 should be held in New York City.

The Association accepted the recommendation of the Council in

favor of the establishment, in case satisfactory arrangements could be made, of a separate series of prize essays in charge of a regular publisher and under the auspices of the Association, to comprise essays which have won the Justin Winsor and Herbert Baxter Adams prizes. It also voted, on the Council's recommendation, to establish a commission to frame, for future series of documentary historical publications on the part of the United States government, a plan so conceived as to provide for a more methodical output and one more valuable to the historical profession. Subsequently, however, a different status has been given to this project by governmental action. President Roosevelt, acting through his Committee on Department Methods, commonly called the Keep Commission, has appointed to serve as a Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government the same gentlemen who were to have served the Association in this particular under appointment from the president of the Association. This committee will report to the Committee on Department Methods. The members appointed are Messrs. Worthington C. Ford, chairman, C. F. Adams, C. M. Andrews, W. A. Dunning, A. B. Hart, J. F. Jameson, A. C. McLaughlin, A. T. Mahan, and F. J. Turner. These gentlemen have accepted appointment, and a preliminary meeting for organization has been held in Washington.

The Council further reported that on request of the College Entrance Examination Board it had appointed a committee (Messrs. A. C. McLaughlin, chairman, C. H. Haskins, C. W. Mann, J. H. Robinson and James Sullivan) to consider certain questions arising out of the *Report of the Committee of Seven on History in Secondary Schools*, with special reference to the extent of the field to be covered in ancient history as a subject for admission to college, and that this committee expected to prepare a report in the course of the present year.

The treasurer's report showed net receipts of \$7,764, net expenditures of \$7,032, an increase of \$732 in the funds of the Association, and total assets of \$24,923.

The report of the Pacific Coast Branch, relating chiefly to its annual meeting held at San Francisco on November 29 and 30, was transmitted by its secretary, Professor C. A. Duniway; and Professor E. D. Adams, who was present as its representative, spoke briefly of the present condition of the Branch.

Brief reports were made by the Historical Manuscripts Commission (on the diplomatic archives of the Republic of Texas), the Public Archives Commission, the Board of Editors of this journal,

the Committee on Bibliography, the Committee on Publications, the General Committee and its conference on the work of state and local historical societies, and the editor of the "Original Narratives of Early American History". The Committee of Eight on History in Elementary Schools reported that its report was substantially ready for print. It will appear through a regular publisher in the course of 1908.

The Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize reported that it had found it necessary to divide the prize between the monograph of Dr. Edward B. Krehbiel of the University of Chicago on *The Interdict, its History and its Operation, with Especial Attention to the Time of Pope Innocent III.*, and the monograph of Dr. William S. Robertson of Western Reserve University on *Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America*.

Complimentary resolutions of the usual character were presented and passed. The committee on nominations, Messrs. H. V. Ames, E. D. Adams and H. L. Caldwell, proposed a list of officers, all of whom were chosen by the Association. Professor George B. Adams was elected president, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart first vice-president and Professor Frederick J. Turner second vice-president. Mr. A. Howard Clark, Professor C. H. Haskins and Dr. Clarence W. Bowen were re-elected to their former positions. In the place of Professor Garrison and Dr. Thwaites, who had been thrice elected to the Executive Council, Professors Max Farrand and Frank H. Hodder were chosen.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
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<i>President,</i>	Professor George B. Adams, New Haven.
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Professor Goldwin Smith, ¹	

Committees:

Committee on Programme for the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting: Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution, Washington, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Charles H. Haskins, John H. Latané and Ulrich B. Phillips.

Joint Local Committee of Arrangements for the Next Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association: Joseph B. Bryan, Esq., Richmond, Va., chairman; Edwin A. Alderman, Allen C. Braxton, J. Alston Cabell, A. Howard Clark, William E. Dodd, Worthington C. Ford, John B. Henderson, Jr., J. Franklin Jameson, Carlton McCarthy, H. R. McIlwaine, Mrs. Kate Pleasants Minor, Samuel C. Mitchell, Andrew J. Montague, Charles W. Needham, Thomas W. Page, Samuel S. P. Patteson, James B. Scott, Thomas J. Shahan, William G. Stanard, Claude A. Swanson, Lyon G. Tyler and John L. Williams.

Editors of the American Historical Review: Professor George B. Adams, Yale University, chairman; George L. Burr, Albert Bushnell Hart, J. Franklin Jameson, Andrew C. McLaughlin and William M. Sloane.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution, Washington, chairman; Worthington C. Ford, Herbert D. Foster, Frederick W. Moore, Thomas M. Owen and James A. Woodburn.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize: Professor Charles H. Hull, Cornell University, chairman; Edward P. Cheyney, John H. Latané, Claude H. Van Tyne and Williston Walker.

¹ Ex-presidents.

Public Archives Commission: Professor Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Clarence S. Brigham, Carl R. Fish, Herbert L. Osgood, Victor H. Paltsits and Dunbar Rowland.

Committee on Bibliography: Professor Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University, chairman; Appleton P. C. Griffin, William C. Lane, James T. Shotwell and Wilbur H. Siebert.

Committee on Publications: Professor William A. Dunning, Columbia University, chairman; Herman V. Ames, A. Howard Clark, Charles Gross, Charles H. Haskins, Charles H. Hull, J. Franklin Jameson and Ernest C. Richardson (all *ex officio*, except the chairman).

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: Professor Charles Gross, Harvard University, chairman; George L. Burr, Victor Coffin, James W. Thompson and John M. Vincent. (During the absence of Professor Gross in Europe until September, 1908, Professor Burr will act as chairman of the committee.)

General Committee: Professor Evarts B. Greene, University of Illinois, chairman; Henry E. Bourne, William E. Dodd, Earle W. Dow, Charles H. Haskins, Frank H. Hodder, Susan M. Kingsbury, Franklin L. Riley, Lucy M. Salmon, Frank H. Severance, Benjamin F. Shambaugh and Frederick G. Young. *Secretary of the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies:* Walter L. Fleming.

Committee on College Entrance Requirements in History: Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago, chairman; Charles H. Haskins, Charles W. Mann, James H. Robinson and James Sullivan.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE NORWEGIAN KINGS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE great age of Old Norse literature began with the twelfth century. For more than two hundred years there was a continued production of sagas and poems, of charters and laws. Much of this literature was, it is true, the product of earlier ages now for the first time put into written form; but a large part was original. From the medieval writings of Western Europe it differs in certain important respects: it was not written in the language of the learned, but in the speech of the people, not by clerks but by cultured laymen; the clerk and the monk wrote amid cloistered surroundings and consequently the church and all its belongings occupy a prominent place in their writings; the scalds and the sagamen had other interests—their stories deal more with kings and chiefs, with warfare and politics. While these tales cannot always be relied on in matters of narrative history, the student of social and political institutions will find in them a source of much valuable information.¹ The importance of Old Norse literature for the study of early Germanic society has long been understood; but it is only within the last generation that historians have begun to realize that these writings may also be used to illustrate institutional developments that are medieval rather than Germanic. Sophus Bugge's contention that the Eddic myths are merely Norse versions of legends current in Western Europe during the Viking age may never be universally accepted;² but there is no doubt a large measure of truth in the statement that Scandinavian thought in the closing centuries of heathendom contained a large fund of borrowed ideas. A most favorable period for the intro-

¹ In preparing this paper I have made considerable use of the following sagas: Snorre's *Heimskringla*. Snorre's dates are 1178-1241. The references are to Morris and Magnusson's translation: *The Stories of the Kings of Norway* (London, 1894).

Flateyrbok (eds. Vigfusson and Unger, Christiania, 1860-1868). The Flatey Book dates from 1370-1380 but the sagas contained are evidently of earlier origin.

Fagrskinna (eds. Munch and Unger, Christiania, 1847). This is a briefer form of the *King-sagas* dating from the thirteenth century (1230-1240). The author seems to have used the same sources that Snorre made use of, at least in part.

² *Helge-Digtene i den Ældre Edda* (Copenhagen, 1896).

duction of foreign customs came in the ninth and tenth centuries when the reputed descendants of Woden were reshaping Northern society along national lines and establishing new institutions, such as a national kingship with all that the term implies. Nearly all the rulers of Norway during the tenth and eleventh centuries had spent years abroad either as vikings, mercenary chiefs or exiles before they were admitted to the kingship; and it is only natural that in the arrangement of their own courts and surroundings they should imitate the institutions of other princely households.

As the medieval Norse writers were usually men who spent a large part of their time at the royal court, they naturally allude freely to the men and the affairs of the king's garth. On the subject of court customs much information can be found in the *King's Mirror* or *Speculum Regale*,³ a unique document dating from about 1200, the ostensible purpose of which is to instruct a youth how to demean himself in the various walks of life, especially in the royal presence. Some use can also be made of the royal charters dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of which a considerable number have come down to us.⁴ But by far the best source for our present purpose is the *Court Law* of Magnus Lawmender (1263-1280),⁵ a revision of an earlier law that was probably put into form in the reign of King Sverri whose rule of thirty eventful years closed in 1202.

I.

From the earliest years of the Norse monarchy the king's guard seems to have formed an organized corps subject to certain definite laws or customs. We get a glimpse of such a corps in the reign of Harold Fairhair, the first Norwegian king.⁶ How complete and definite this organization was in the ninth century cannot be known; but by the thirteenth it had developed into a somewhat elaborate form. There existed then in the king's garth (the chapel service not included) four distinct but closely related guilds, all organized for the purpose of guarding or serving the king, each in its own way. Of these the king himself was only a member, though naturally the most influential and powerful one. These four groups

³ *Kongs-skuggsio* (Soröe, 1768). Later editions by Keyser, Munch and Unger (Christiania, 1848) and by Brenner (Munich, 1881).

⁴ *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (Christiania, 1847-1871).

⁵ *Hirðskraa*, in *Norges Gamle Love* (Old Norse Laws), II. Abbreviated to N. G. L.: H.

⁶ *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (Oxford, 1883), I. 257. See Larson, *The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* (*Univ. of Wis. Bulletin*, 1904), p. 157.

were the "hirdmen", the "gests", the "candle-swains" and the "house-carles". Usually the complete household was spoken of as the "hird" (*hirð*), a term that suggests an Old English origin;⁷ but more specifically this term was used for the most important corps, the members of which were known as "hirdmen" (*hirðmenn*).

The author of the *Speculum Regale* advises all who wish to enter the guard to appear before the king with a spokesman. On coming to the court they are told to seek out those who are in the habit of presenting such requests to the king and to cultivate their friendship. The most favorable time would be when the king was at the table, as he would then most likely be in good humor.⁸ If the king agreed to receive the man, one of the higher officials of the guard, the marksman or the staller, would submit the matter to the assembled hirdmen. Should any one present object to granting the request, the matter would be laid over until the objections could be investigated; these might be based on ancestry, earlier record or the like.⁹ Apparently no man could become a hirdman without the free consent of the guild membership.

The Court Law also provides for an initiation ceremony closely resembling that of homage, of which it was probably an adaptation,¹⁰ though it is also possible that the two ceremonies may have developed independently from some ancient custom prevailing in the Germanic *comitatus*.¹¹ The king was in his high-seat with his guard grouped about him; across his knees lay a sword, his right hand grasping the hilt. The candidate approached, knelt, touched the sword-hilt and kissed the royal hand. He then arose and took the oath of fealty. Kneeling once more he placed his folded hands between those of the king and kissed his new lord. The officiating trencher-swain then led him to his new comrades from whom he received the hand and kiss of fellowship.¹²

⁷ *Hirð* is probably derived from the Old English *hired*, household, frequently a royal household.

⁸ *Spec. Reg.*, 67 (xxx.).

⁹ *N. G. L.*, II. 422: *H.* 30.

¹⁰ But the two must not be confused; the kingsman was not a vassal.

¹¹ In the complaint of the *Wanderer*, an Old English poem from the seventh century or earlier (see Wülker's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Angelsächsischen Literatur*), the minstrel calls to mind "how at one time his war-lord he kissed and embraced, laying his hands and his head on the chieftain's knee, when in days of yore he enjoyed the gift-seat" (ll. 41-44). There can be no doubt that the singer refers to his initiation into his lord's following. In several important particulars—the kneeling (which is implied), the kiss, the placing of the hand—this ceremony resembles the one described in the Court Law; the "sword-touching" is not alluded to, but this particular act was not required of all who entered the royal service, as will be seen elsewhere in this paper.

¹² *N. G. L.*, II. 422-423: *H.* 31.

While it was usual to admit only voluntary applicants to the guard, this rule was sometimes broken; the king occasionally solicited members, and at times even commanded men to join the hird.¹³ On the death of the king, the men were released from their oaths; but it was customary for the new ruler to receive the former henchmen into his own guard.¹⁴ As the Norse constitution permitted a divided kingship, it would sometimes happen that the kingdom had several courts, each of the joint rulers maintaining his own.¹⁵ In one instance a kingsman appears to have served in two such guards at the same time.¹⁶

The duties of the hirdman are summed up in the oath of initiation: to be faithful to his lord in open and in secret; to follow the king at home and abroad, and never to leave his court without permission, except under stress of great necessity.¹⁷ His particular duty was to guard the king's life and person;¹⁸ the corps was therefore chosen from "all that was strongest and stoutest, both of folk of the land and of outlanders".¹⁹ In battle the hirdmen were grouped about the king;²⁰ the bravest and strongest were with him on shipboard;²¹ they sat around him and before him in the public assemblies.²² Of the regular guards at court the sources speak of two: the day-guard or "following" (*fylgð*) and the night-guard or ward (*vörðr*).²³ Of the latter there were two divisions—the inner-ward (*innvörðr*) also called head-ward (*höfuðvörðr*) and the outer-ward (*utvörðr*).²⁴ The head-ward was stationed near the king's person, usually outside the door of the chamber where he slept;²⁵ it was composed, it seems, of hirdmen only. The outer-ward was placed at a greater distance and was normally made up of gests.²⁶ Owing to its great length, the winter night was divided

¹³ *Orvar-Odd's Saga* (Halle, 1892), c. 41; *Egil's Saga* (Halle, 1894), c. 25.

¹⁴ *N. G. L.*, II. 399: *H.* 11. In such cases the oath alone was required.

¹⁵ Snorre, *King Ingi's Saga*, III. 385, 387, cc. 26, 27.

¹⁶ *Flateyrbok*, III. 126, 127. Mention is made of two brothers who were henchmen of both King Hakon and Duke Skuli. A somewhat similar case is recorded in early English history. See Larson, *King's Household in England*, p. 95.

¹⁷ *N. G. L.*, II. 425-426: *H.* 34.

¹⁸ *Spec. Reg.*, 63 (xxix.).

¹⁹ Snorre, *Olaf Tryggvesson's Saga*, I. 352, c. 101.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I. 352, c. 101.

²² *Flateyrbok*, II. 645.

²³ *N. G. L.*, II. 414: *H.* 25; 424: *H.* 33.

²⁴ Snorre, *Olaf Tryggvesson's Saga*, I. 206, c. 48.

²⁵ *Id.*, *Saga of Magnus the Blind*, III. 342, c. 17; see also *Didrik's Saga* (ed. Unger, Christiania, 1853), c. 228.

²⁶ *N. G. L.*, II. 441, 442: *H.* 46.

into two watch periods, the guards changing at midnight.²⁷ The outer-guards went to their duty heavily armed, and in times of special danger each guardsman was further provided with a trumpet.²⁸ All irregularities with respect to this service were heavily punished with fines or dismissal in disgrace.²⁹

The day-guard was ordinarily composed of six men, one walking on each side of the king and four at a proper distance behind.³⁰ On certain festive occasions and when the king entertained distinguished visitors, the number was increased to twelve, and the highest dignitaries of the court and the realm were then called into service.³¹ The guard reported when the chapel bell rang for matins and at once proceeded to the sanctuary to join the king in worship. During the remainder of the day they remained in the king's presence or wherever he ordered them to be. When serving in the "following" the hirdman wore his best clothes and bore his best weapons—helmet, shield and sword. As the king might have tasks to assign to those who were not acting as day-guards, it was customary for the henchmen to take a stand somewhere near the royal chambers where they might be easily found if wanted.³²

As the name of the guard is clearly borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon,³³ it would not be strange if the institution itself should reveal Old English influence in its general organization and character. On the make-up of the English guard, the Anglo-Saxon sources give us no satisfactory information; but there are indications that the men were grouped in day-guards and night-guards much as they were at the Norse court in later times. The Norwegian king who attended morning worship with his following of six henchmen was, perhaps, continuing an old custom that prevailed in Northumbria in the seventh century when King Oswy visited Colman's church attended by "five or six thegns".³⁴ Of the two forces holding night-guard, the inner-guard (head-ward) seems to be mentioned in *Beowulf*, where we are told that Wiglaf kept head-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 424, 425: H. 33. The ringing to matins was the signal for dismissal.

²⁸ *N. G. L.*, II. 441-442: H. 46. *Ludr*, not exactly a trumpet, rather a species of Alpine horn.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 424-425: H. 33.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 423-424: H. 32.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 414-415: H. 25. In no case was the following to be composed of new henchmen, and no person with whom the king was angry would be permitted to serve.

³² *Spec. Reg.*, 81 (xxxvii.).

³³ See above, p. 461.

³⁴ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, book III., c. 26.

ward over his dead lord.³⁵ The same term (*heafodweard*) is used in the *Rectitudines* for a peculiar service that the thegn owes to the king.³⁶ The service reappears in *Domesday* under the name of *inguardus* (inner-ward), a duty that certain socmen of Cambridge-shire would be called on to perform "if the king should come into the shire".³⁷ The fact that these men were not resident at court should cause no difficulty; the Norse king also had a number of non-resident henchmen who had particular duties to perform when the king came into their part of the realm.³⁸ It seems probable that the mysterious term *avera*, which is coupled with *inguardus* in an entry in *Domesday* and which was also a service due "when the king came into the shire",³⁹ is another survival of ancient custom connected with the royal court.

The hirdmen also had a place in the council of the realm whenever the king should choose to call one.⁴⁰ They took a prominent part in coronation ceremonies and in the election of a king in cases of disputed inheritance or failure of heirs.⁴¹ The royal council met whenever the king chose, but all matters pertaining to the installation of a new ruler had to be transacted at a grand council in Thronthjem, in which the hirdmen sat with abbots and bishops.⁴²

In return for his services the henchman received a regular pay in coin or bullion paid out on the eighth day of the Yule festival. If money was lacking, dishes and jewels were broken up, weighed and distributed.⁴³ In addition the more favored received gifts, especially swords, arm rings and the use of royal estates.⁴⁴ In

³⁵ *Beowulf*, ll. 2906-2910. A similar case is recorded in the Norse sources of the reign of Hakon IV., who died in 1263. It was determined to place a head-watch at his tomb and keep it there till the end of the winter. *Flateyrbok*, III. 230.

³⁶ Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 444. The *geneat* owes the same duty to his lord.

³⁷ *Domesday Book*, I. 190 (see Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 130). "[Sochemanni in Fuleberne] reddunt . . . 12 equos et 12 inguardos si rex in vice-comitatu veniret . . ." The "inward seems to be the duty of forming a body guard for the king while he is in the shire". (Maitland.)

³⁸ See below, p. 466.

³⁹ *Domesday Book*, I. 139, 190.

⁴⁰ Such assemblies were attended by archbishops, earls, bishops, landed-men and hirdmen. *Spec. Reg.*, 64 (xxx.); *Dipl. Norv.*, VII. 116-118. Cf. the Old English *witenagemot*.

⁴¹ *N. G. L.*, I. 4, 263; II. 27.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Flateyrbok*, III. 134, 229. Cf. Munch, *Norges Kongesagaer*, II. 280.

⁴⁴ Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 79, c. 60; *Harold Hardrada's Saga*, III. 86, c. 24. The arm ring was a peculiar sign of the henchman's service. See the stories of Thormod and Thorir in Snorre's version of *St. Olaf's Saga*. Thorir was accused of being Cnut's man. At a feast King Olaf stroked his arm above the

times of war extra rewards appear to have been given.⁴⁵ But, on the whole, service in the king's garth was not a very gainful occupation. To be ranked with the kingsmen was, however, a mark of great distinction, and the honor was eagerly sought.⁴⁶ When at court the hirdman ate regularly at the king's table.⁴⁷ If captured in battle or otherwise, he was generally sure of a ransom.⁴⁸ For such as were rendered completely helpless in the royal service, the king was pledged to provide a home; the very poor among the aged hirdmen were placed in some monastic institution, the king and the guard each paying half of the expenses connected with such an arrangement. To provide a fund for this purpose an initiation fee of an öre silver was collected from all who were admitted to the hird and half an öre from those who entered the corps of gests or candle-swains.⁴⁹ In 1308 steps were taken toward providing a hospital for the sick and an asylum for the aged and unfortunate in connection with the royal chapel at Oslo. For the support of this, the king donated a considerable sum and provided for fees much as before, only that greater sums were now to be collected.⁵⁰

The business of the guild was transacted at the "hird-gemot" (*hirðstefna*). When the signal was sounded on the trumpet, it was the duty of every hirdman to inquire as to the reason for the call and to hasten to the assembly.⁵¹ Ordinarily the meetings were held in a hall that was used for such purposes mainly.⁵² Those who were absent without good excuse were fined an öre silver; three offences meant forfeiture of membership. Each corps had its own signal and its own *gemot*; those who were not called were forbidden

elbow. Said Thorir, "Touch it gently there; I have a boil on the arm." He was forced to show the ring; it was Cnut's gift and Thorir was slain, II. 341-342, c. 175; 439, c. 246 (story of Thormod); 337, c. 172 (sword-gifts). See also *Karlamagnus Saga* (Christiania, 1860), viii, 4, 487.

⁴⁵ *Fagrskinna*, p. 117.

⁴⁶ *Spec. Reg.*, 58 (xxvi.).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 63 (xxix.).

⁴⁸ *N. G. L.*, II. 448: *H.* 53. The king and the guild provided the ransom money, but the liberated kingsman was in duty bound to restore the sum, at least in part.

⁴⁹ *N. G. L.*, II. 448: *H.* 53. But a part of this fund was used to provide masses for the dead.

⁵⁰ The funds were placed in the hands of four men, two clerics chosen by the king and two hirdmen chosen by the hird. *Ibid.*, III. 78-80.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II. 437: *H.* 42. Ordinarily such meetings were called by the king, but on occasions it seems that members, perhaps the chiefs, might order the signal to be given. See *Flateyrbok*, III. 14-16. (1217.)

⁵² *Dipl. Norv.*, I. 104. (Bergen, 1308.) "... this charter was drawn up in the hall in the king's garth where gemots are held".

to attend.⁵³ Serious matters, such as treason,⁵⁴ riots⁵⁵ or quarrels within the guard, were brought up at these meetings. The henchmen were expected to treat each other as brethren, to assist one another in trouble and to see that justice was done to all; but the ideal of good-fellowship was hard to attain.⁵⁶ Apparently the marksman and the staller had or came to have some judicial authority at these sessions;⁵⁷ the marksman collected certain fines, perhaps he also assessed them.⁵⁸ But there is clear evidence that in serious cases some sort of a jury was employed; when a dignitary within the guard is accused of treason, says the Court Law, "there shall be named twelve of the most discreet men, who shall investigate whether the man can be rightfully convicted of the crime or not".⁵⁹ The *hirðstefna* was evidently an ancient institution in the thirteenth century; it seems to have been introduced into the English royal household in the reign of Cnut, for we find distinct traces of an organization exercising judicial authority over and among the English house-carles in the days of Edward the Confessor.⁶⁰

Thus far we have spoken of the guard as a corps of warriors that remained continuously at the king's residence. But there were also hirdmen abroad in the realm looking after the royal interests everywhere; these spent only a part, often a very small part, of their time at court.⁶¹ We are told that Saint Olaf kept sixty hirdmen, thirty gests and thirty house-carles continuously at his garth,⁶² and that one of his successors, Olaf the Quiet (1066-1093), doubled the numbers.⁶³ But this total, two hundred and forty, does not represent the entire number of kingsmen; counting the candle-swains and the hirdmen whose homes were elsewhere, we should find the number much larger. Apparently there was a tendency to

⁵³ *N. G. L.*, II. 437: *H.* 42. Fines were collected by the marksman. The henchmen were also fined for neglecting to appear at funerals of comrades. The money collected was used to pay for masses for the dead.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 408: *H.* 20.

⁵⁵ After a riot in which Skuli was concerned the king gave the signal for a *hirðstefna*; the henchmen demanded satisfaction and the earl submitted to the judgment of good men. *Flateyrbok*, III. 34-35. (1218.)

⁵⁶ *N. G. L.*, II. 436: *H.* 41.

⁵⁷ *N. G. L.*, II. 411: *H.* 22; III. 64 (decree of 1303).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* See also *H.* 42.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 408: *H.* 20; cf. *Flateyrbok*, III. 34-35.

⁶⁰ See Larson, *King's Household in England*, pp. 165-167.

⁶¹ Such were found even in Iceland. See *Flateyrbok*, III. 205; *Laxdöla Saga* (ed. Kaalund, Copenhagen, 1889-1891), c. 20; *Sturlunga Saga* (ed. Vigfusson), II. 386. The laws suppose their presence everywhere; see *H.* 34.

⁶² *Fagrskinna*, p. 150; Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 67, c. 55.

⁶³ Snorre, *Saga of Olaf the Quiet*, III. 194, c. 4; *Fagrskinna*, p. 150.

increase the force of absentee-henchmen with the result that the character of the corps as a whole suffered an appreciable decline.⁶⁴

In the earlier centuries of the Norse *comitatus* there may have existed a relative equality among the henchmen, but such was not the case in the later Middle Ages. By that time a system of classes had developed within the hird, two of which stand out with some distinctness: the "landed-men" and the "trencher-swains". Just when these classes first began to appear we do not know; Snorre seems to believe that Olaf the Quiet was the first king to employ trencher-swains,⁶⁵ but it is not likely that their service was wholly an innovation of that reign. Though not hirdmen in the narrower sense, the landed-men and the trencher-swains were always classed as such; they were chosen from the hird, they retained their membership in the guild and were never wholly excused from the guardsmen's duty. In the one case the mark of distinction was social position and political influence; in the other, an important service in the king's hall.

The landed-men, as such, were neither servants nor officials. Apparently they were members of powerful families whom the king wished to bind closely to the crown.⁶⁶ To accomplish this he admitted them into his guard and endowed them with valuable fiefs. Outside the princely order they were the highest dignitaries in the land. Each landed-man was allowed to maintain a guard of forty house-carles, or more if the king permitted it.⁶⁷ As Norway rarely had a duke or an earl, the landed-men ranked next to the king in popular estimation. In return for honors received they assumed certain military duties, but especially did they bind themselves to watch over the king's interests in their parts of the realm. Still, they had no jurisdiction, they were not officials except when the king invested them with a recognized office.⁶⁸ Their powers were derived from wealth and family connections. Keyser believes that they were originally chiefs of the Norse hundred,⁶⁹ but this opinion can hardly be correct, as in that case the number of landed-men would have been great, while as a matter of fact the opposite seems

⁶⁴ In the early years of the fourteenth century there is much complaint that these men are neglectful of duty; they refuse to serve in the host, to attend the courts, to testify, to keep oaths, etc. See *N. G. L.*, III. 56, 66, 68, 90 (royal decrees dating from 1303 and 1311).

⁶⁵ Snorre, *Saga of Olaf the Quiet*, III. 193, c. 3.

⁶⁶ Sars, *Udsigt over den Norske Historie*, II. 16 ff.

⁶⁷ *N. G. L.*, II. 407: H. 19.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, V., index: *lendr mædr*.

⁶⁹ Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter* (Christiania, 1867), II. 107-109.

to have been true. In the closing decades of the twelfth century there seem to have been but five men of this rank in the kingdom.⁷⁰ In the reign of King Hakon IV. (1217-1263) the saga frequently speaks of nine.⁷¹ In all probability we have in this institution a faint reflection of feudal vassallage.

The dignity was conferred in the hirdmen's hall at one of the great festivals. Immediately after grace had been said the king would announce his intention to honor the candidate named. Two men of the highest rank present would then escort him to the high-seat; the king would rise, take him by the hand and lead him to a seat among the other landed-men.⁷² At the great Christmas and Easter festivals, the landed-men were required to be present at court and serve in the day-guard.⁷³ At coronation ceremonies they acted a prominent and very important part.⁷⁴ But only so long as the landed-man remained faithful to his lord, could he retain his honors; treason meant a trial in the hirdmen's *gemot*, and conviction meant forfeiture of all rights.⁷⁵ In 1277 it was decreed that the landed-men should henceforth be known as barons and lords.⁷⁶ A generation later (1308) it was determined to create no more barons,⁷⁷ and the dignity gradually disappeared.

"King Olaf had these court customs, to wit, that he let stand before his board trencher-swains (*skutilsveinar*), and they poured to him in board-beakers, and also to all men of high estate who sat at his table . . ." ⁷⁸ "They have the fairest service in the garth, and must be carefully trained."⁷⁹ To stand before the king's table and serve His Majesty with meat and drink was considered a great honor, and a place in this service was eagerly sought.⁸⁰ In

⁷⁰ *Historisk Tidsskrift*, second series, IV. 157-158.

⁷¹ Nine were with the king in 1235 (*Flateyrbok*, III. 111); the same number were present at the coronation in 1247 when a full attendance was to be expected (*ibid.*, 168); nine were with the king in the expedition against Scotland, 1263 (*ibid.*, 219-220).

⁷² *N. G. L.*, II. 406: *H.* 18. Snorre, the historian, was made a landed-man in 1220; his particular duty was to establish the king's authority in Iceland. *Flateyrbok*, III. 38.

⁷³ *N. G. L.*, II. 407: *H.* 19.

⁷⁴ *Flateyrbok*, III. 169-170, 212-213.

⁷⁵ *N. G. L.*, II. 408: *H.* 20.

⁷⁶ *Sturlunga Saga*, II. 382, appendix: *Islenskir Annalar*, 1277.

⁷⁷ *N. G. L.*, III. 74 ff. Royal decree of June 17, 1308. King Hakon V. Magnusson (1299-1319) was a vigorous ruler and a firm believer in absolutism. The barons may also have abused their power during the minority of his brother Erik (1280-1299). See Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter*, II. 107 ff.

⁷⁸ Snorre, *Saga of Olaf the Quiet*, III. 193, c. 3.

⁷⁹ *N. G. L.*, II. 412-413: *H.* 24.

⁸⁰ *Fagrskinna*, p. 154.

rank the trencher-swains stood next to the landed-men.⁸¹ In addition to their duties at the royal table, the trencher-swains had certain important responsibilities with respect to the safety of the royal person. For a week's period two of these officials had complete charge of all arrangements looking toward peace and protection, especially at night. They placed the guards and made sure that all necessary precautions were taken against possible surprise.⁸² Usually the trencher-swains were excused from serving as guardsmen, but in time of war or special danger they were obliged to watch with the rest in their turn, the men in charge doing guard duty during the week of their special authority.⁸³ Like the other members of the hird, the trencher-swains might be called upon to perform a variety of other duties both in times of peace and of war.⁸⁴

It seems that a candidate for these honors had to serve an apprenticeship as cup-bearer in the royal hall. Appointments were always made at the close of a feast. An empty beaker was brought in and placed upon the king's table. The king handed it to the candidate who received it, kissing the royal hand; he then withdrew immediately but soon returned with the beaker filled with the king's beverage.⁸⁵ When the landed-men were given the baronial title (1277), the trencher-swains were advanced to knighthood, though it is likely that the promotion was one in title only.⁸⁶ When the baronage became extinct in the fourteenth century the knights were the highest order in the kingdom.⁸⁷

"It is known to most men", says the scribe of the Court Law, "that in the king's guard the gests (*gestir*) stand next to the hirdmen in title dignity and privileges."⁸⁸ These formed a smaller corps, in theory half as large as that of the hirdmen.⁸⁹ As in the

⁸¹ In the coronation procession they had a place next below the barons and above the marksman. *Flateyarbok*, III. 212-213.

⁸² This seems to be the meaning of the ambiguous term, *halda stöðu*. *N. G. L.*, II. 424, 447: *H.* 33, 51. Fritzner states in his Old Norse dictionary that some sort of a guard is meant, but this seems hardly probable. *Ordbog* (Christiania, 1867), *staða*.

⁸³ *N. G. L.*, II. 415: *H.* 25.

⁸⁴ A trencher-swain is mentioned as royal official in the Orkneys. *Flateyarbok*, III. 103-104.

⁸⁵ *N. G. L.*, II. 413: *H.* 24.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, III. 74 ff.

⁸⁷ I have been unable to find an institution elsewhere that exactly corresponds to the Norse table service, but the etymology of the term *skutilsvein* (from Lat. *scutella*, probably through A. S. *scutel*) would indicate a foreign origin.

⁸⁸ *N. G. L.*, II. 439: *H.* 43.

⁸⁹ Sixty in the days of Olaf the Quiet (1066-1093); thirty in the days of his father. *Fagrskinna*, p. 150.

case of the higher guard, admission to this guild was usually on application, the procedure being much the same in both instances. The ceremony of initiation was somewhat simpler, however: the applicant would kneel, touch the royal sword, kiss the king's hand and swear everlasting fidelity; after this he was introduced to his new associates who greeted him with a hand-clasp.⁹⁰

In general, the rights of the gests were similar to those of the hirdmen.⁹¹ In battle they were grouped with these about the royal colors;⁹² on sea they had their own ship which they sailed near to the royal dragon.⁹³ They had their own chief and their separate guild assembly.⁹⁴ At Yule-tide and the Easter festivals they were admitted to the king's tables, but not at other times.⁹⁵ Their wages were half as large as the hirdmen's pay,⁹⁶ and they contributed in like proportion to the fund for the sick and the aged.⁹⁷

The duties of the gests may be grouped into two leading classes: they served as the king's spies throughout the realm and rode his errands generally; at court they served in the outer-guard. The latter duty has already been described. As the greater number of the gests might be absent on the king's errands, it was permissible to allow men who were not henchmen to share this watch, but a certain number of gests must always be present. The gests might also serve in any other form of watch except the head-ward.⁹⁸ It was as the king's spies and messengers of death that these men performed their most acceptable services. It was their duty to learn what hostile movements were abroad, to forestall treason wherever possible, to cleanse the realm of their lord's enemies. Sometimes the king would dispatch his gests to slay an enemy, in which case they were allowed half of the wealth that they could carry away; the rest, including all the gold, belonged to the king.⁹⁹ The gests might also be sent on other errands, and when necessary they could call on all the kingsmen and local officials for assistance in carrying out their instructions.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁰ *N. G. L.*, II. 439: *H.* 43.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, II. 440-441: *H.* 45.

⁹² Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 409, c. 221.

⁹³ *N. G. L.*, II. 440-441.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*: *gestastefna*.

⁹⁵ *Spec. Reg.*, 60 (xxvii.).

⁹⁶ *Flateyrbok*, III. 229.

⁹⁷ *N. G. L.*, II. 448: *H.* 53; III. 78-80.

⁹⁸ *N. G. L.*, II. 440-441: *H.* 45; *Spec. Reg.*, 60 (xxvii.).

⁹⁹ *Spec. Reg.*, 60 (xxvii.).

¹⁰⁰ *N. G. L.*, II. 439-440: *H.* 44. The Court Law warns against giving the gests such errands as are unreasonable, sinful or as imply the grant of too much power. The men are urged to be just and honest, to abstain from pillage, to spare the innocent and to respect the rights of women.

As the duties of the gests were such as might involve great dangers, they were chosen, not for courtly behavior or high connections, but for personal bravery and prowess. Asbiorn, in his speech against King Sverri, speaks of the king's gests as "the worst of men, the limbs of the very fiend".¹⁰¹ Though in the words of an enemy, this characterization no doubt contains a large measure of truth: to the readiness of these warriors to undertake bloody and dangerous tasks the sagas bear frequent testimony.¹⁰² It seems exceedingly strange, that in a country like medieval Norway, where courts were numerous and legal systems rigidly adhered to, such an institution could be permitted to exist. Realizing its seeming non-Germanic character, historians have sought its origin in Celtic and Slavic lands. A corps known as the *gosti* has been found in early Russia and some have thought that the Vikings and Verangians may have become acquainted with this on their journeys to Constantinople, where at least one of the Old Norse kings (Harold Hardrada) served in the imperial guard; but there seem to have been gests in Norway before the reign of this king. An attempt has also been made to connect the *gestir* with the twelve *gwestai* who collected the food rents of the Old Welsh kings; on the whole this seems the more plausible explanation, though in the present state of the evidence it is hardly more than a conjecture.¹⁰³

"[King Olaf] also had candle-swains (*kertisveinar*) who held up candles before his board, and as many of them as men of high degree sat there."¹⁰⁴ It is natural to think of these servants as pages, boys or at least youths;¹⁰⁵ but the sources do not support such a view. It is probable that the candle-service came in with the other new fashions that became current in the reign of Olaf the Quiet;¹⁰⁶ but the Norse rulers were not mere imitators—a foreign institution

¹⁰¹ *Flateyrbok*, II. 613.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, III. 227; Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 72, 77, 409, cc. 59, 221; *Magnus Barefoot's Saga*, III. 320, c. 5.

¹⁰³ *Ancient Laws of Wales*, p. 772 and glossary; Seebohm, *Tribal System in Wales*, p. 163; Steenstrup, *Danelag*, p. 124; Larson, *King's Household in England*, p. 174. Medieval Norse writers believed that the gests were given this name because they gusted the homes of so many men and not always in a friendly spirit. *Spec. Reg.*, 59 (xxvii.).

¹⁰⁴ Snorre, *Saga of Olaf the Quiet*, III. 193, c. 3.

¹⁰⁵ Such seems to be Keyser's view. *Efterladte Skrifter*, II. 79, 80.

¹⁰⁶ "In the days of King Olaf . . . men began to take up new fashions, wearing pride-hosen laced to the bone; some clasped golden rings around their legs, and then men wore drag-kirtles laced to the side, sleeves five ells long, and so strait that they must be drawn by an armcord and trussed all up to the shoulder; high shoes withal, and all sewn with silk, and some embroidered with gold. Many other new-fangled fashions there were." Snorre, *Saga of Olaf the Quiet*, III. 192-193, c. 2.

transplanted to Norway soon took on a national stamp. That the Norse candle-bearers were men is evident from a variety of considerations. In addition to their regular duties in the banquet hall they might be called on to do service in the day-guard,¹⁰⁷ a duty that would hardly fall to a mere page; in time of war they fought with the other kingsmen;¹⁰⁸ they sailed their own ships, had a chief of their own appointed by the king and apparently had a guild organization like those of the higher corps;¹⁰⁹ in matters of household finance they ranked with the gasts and shared with these in the privilege of asylum and similar benefits.¹¹⁰ As the candle-swains were to serve in the royal presence on occasions when courtly behavior was a prominent virtue, they were carefully chosen from good families after a close inquiry into their social position, wealth, abilities and behavior.¹¹¹ After the tables had been cleared but before the bowl of water for the king's hands had been brought in, the seneschal (*drotseti*) led the candidate toward the high-seat. The king extended his right hand over the table; the new kingsman took it in both his own, kissed it and vowed to be faithful in every service. After the ceremony the candle-swain assisted in washing the king's hands.¹¹² The men who held the candles were ranked among the henchmen (*handgengnir*: men who had gone to the king's hand) but not among the sword-takers (*sverðtakarar*: men who had touched the king's sword);¹¹³ they therefore occupied a lower place at court than gasts and hirdmen.

Originally, we are told, all the kingsmen were known by the common name of house-carles (*huskarlar*); but in the thirteenth century this term was limited to the lowest class of royal servants, the men who performed the manual labor in the king's household:¹¹⁴ they were "to work all needful service in the garth and at whatso ingatherings were needful".¹¹⁵ They seem to have been organized like the other kingsmen with ship and chief (*ræðismaðr*) and guild laws.¹¹⁶ Fagrskinna tells us that in the eleventh century the house-carles were not counted among the henchmen;¹¹⁷ but a century

¹⁰⁷ N. G. L., II. 444: H. 47.

¹⁰⁸ *Flateyrbok*, III. 131, 225.

¹⁰⁹ N. G. L., II. 444: H. 47.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 448, 449; III. 79; *Flateyrbok*, III. 229.

¹¹¹ N. G. L., II. 443, 444: H. 47.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 416: H. 26.

¹¹⁵ Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 67, c. 55. St. Olaf had thirty house-carles.

¹¹⁶ *Flateyrbok*, II. 582; *Spec. Reg.*, 58.

¹¹⁷ *Fagrskinna*, p. 150. Olaf the Quiet had sixty house-carles.

later they had, it seems, attained to this distinction.¹¹⁸ As there were absentee-hirdmen there were also house-carles who seldom appeared at court. These were often the sons of wealthy yeomen or even of landed-men who for a small fee, often for the honor merely of being known as kingsmen, or for the protection that went with this relationship, entered the royal service. Their duties were various: they might be called on to pilot the king's ship, to act as royal messengers, to serve as the king's merchants and especially to assist his majesty's local officials.¹¹⁹

Among these various corps the feeling was not always the most cordial. The difference in rank, in treatment and in fare naturally resulted in envy and jealousy which often flared up at the great festive gatherings when men had drunk too freely. King Magnus Erlingsson's geste "liked ill that the hirdmen drank mead while they were given ale"; the result was a riot (1181).¹²⁰ It sometimes happened that trouble arose between individual members of different guilds, and usually the quarrel was taken up by their comrades.¹²¹ In such cases the king seems to have exercised extensive judicial authority, assisted, no doubt, by the staller and the marksman, whose duty it was to attend all the meetings both of hirdmen and of geste.¹²²

A wholly different, though none the less important, organization centred about the royal chapel. In the first half of the eleventh century a bishop resided in the king's garth;¹²³ but that was while the land was still largely heathen. With the organization of dioceses the court-bishop disappears and his place is taken by the court-priest (*hirðprest*). The Court Law provides for two such priests, one to shrive the king and his henchmen and one to have charge of the books, vestments and the like that belonged to the royal chapel. For these services the king gave them each five marks and two gowns at Yule-tide; the henchmen paid them one-thirtieth of their wages.¹²⁴ The chapel soon came to have the usual force

¹¹⁸ *Flateyrbók*, II. 541-542. "... seventy men went to the king's (Sverri's) hand; some were made hirdmen, some geste, some house-carles".

¹¹⁹ *Spec. Reg.*, 60, 61 (xxvii.). It is possible that some of these ranked higher than the house-carles at court, but the author of the *Speculum* makes no distinction.

¹²⁰ *Flateyrbók*, II. 593. The rioters were punished at the king's command.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, III. 60-61, 97.

¹²² *N. G. L.*, II. 411-412: *H.* 22-23.

¹²³ Snorre, *Olaf Trygvesson's Saga*, I. 315, c. 71; *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 205, 417, cc. 118, 229.

¹²⁴ *N. G. L.*, II. 410: *H.* 21.

of lower ecclesiastics,¹²⁵ and it also maintained a school of some importance.¹²⁶

In the early years of the twelfth century King Eystein erected two new churches for the use of his court, one in Bergen and one in the old capital, Thronthjem.¹²⁷ Later kings increased the number to fourteen.¹²⁸ At first the chapel-priests were appointed by the bishops in whose dioceses the churches happened to be located;¹²⁹ but in 1308 a decree went forth from Avignon which practically separated the chapel system from the national church administration. The appointments were given to the king and at the head of the entire group was placed a *magister capellarum*, who to all intents and purposes became a bishop. He was even allowed to wear episcopal robes, at first only when no bishop was present, but later on all occasions.¹³⁰ The significance of these arrangements is readily seen. The ambitions of the Norse episcopate had been a source of much annoyance to King Hakon's predecessors; of this the monarch would now be in part relieved. He had now his own priesthood, educated, perhaps, at his own chapel schools, appointed by himself, consecrated by his own bishop. Possibly he hoped to extend the system to all parts of the realm. But the bishops at once made war on this new organization and finally succeeded in having it condemned as contrary to canon law.¹³¹

II.

Of servants and officials to whom were assigned some particular line of duties or functions in the king's garth, the sources name a considerable number. Most of these were, however, servants of the lower order, such as we should expect to find in every extensive household of the age.¹³² Still, there were at the Norse court six officials that took a high rank: the butler, the seneschal, the treasurer, the marksman, the staller and the chancellor. Of these, all but two were chosen from among the hirdmen, the chancellor being always and the treasurer sometimes an ecclesiastic. The seneschal (*drotseti*—the word is probably a form of the German *Truchsess*)

¹²⁵ *Dipl. Norv.*, III. 107, 108: deans, canons, deacons, etc.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, IV. 121 (1312-1319).

¹²⁷ Snorre, *Saga of Sigurd Jerusalem-farer*, III. 263, c. 15.

¹²⁸ *Dipl. Norv.*, I. 100 (1308).

¹²⁹ *N. G. L.*, II. 464 (agreement of 1273).

¹³⁰ *Dipl. Norv.*, I. 100-103; *Historisk Tidsskrift*, first series, IV. 267-268. The office was given to the dean of the Church of the Apostles in Bergen.

¹³¹ *Dipl. Norv.*, I. 90-91, 107, 115-117; IV. 80, 91. The pretext urged was that the king's priests interfered in the affairs of the regular parishes and deprived the parish priests of their income.

¹³² Such are cooks, butlers, door-wards, horse-wards, smiths, trumpeters, bed-swains, shoe-swains and the like.

and the chief butler (*skenkjari*) were, in the thirteenth century, household officials only. With the advice of his friends the king selected, according to the Court Law, two men from among the trencher-swains most suitable in descent and deportment to fill these offices. If the king should find more suitable candidates outside the corps of hirdmen, he might appoint them; but first he must elevate them to the dignities of henchmen and trencher-swains.¹³³

The *drotseti* of the fourteenth century was, however, a wholly different official from his predecessor of the thirteenth. In 1319 Magnus, a child of three years, was chosen king of Norway and Sweden. The regency that controlled affairs in Norway did not give a satisfactory rule, and at a council held in 1323 a regent was appointed with the title of *drotseti*.¹³⁴ The seneschal was now the highest civil official in the state. In this sense the office continued till near the close of the century.¹³⁵

The king's treasurer (*fehirðir*), though doubtless a very ancient and useful servant at court, is rarely mentioned in the sources as a prominent official. It seems that an ecclesiastic (often the king's chaplain, perhaps) usually had charge of the royal treasury;¹³⁶ but at times it was also placed in secular hands. That the office was considered important is evidenced by the fact that Anders Plytt, who held it in 1263, was classed among the landed-men.¹³⁷ During the period under survey the treasurer seems to have been with the king in the garth, but in the fourteenth century we find four such functionaries, one in each of the leading cities.¹³⁸ Whether one of these still was regarded as the regular court treasurer, as some have thought,¹³⁹ is somewhat doubtful, as all seem to have had certain duties with respect to the kingsmen that were formerly performed in the king's garth.¹⁴⁰

It seems probable that in the earlier years of the Norse monarchy

¹³³ *N. G. L.*, II. 415: *H.* 26.

¹³⁴ The regent chosen was Erling Vidkunsson, a knight (hirdman) and the wealthiest man in the realm. See any good history of Norway.

¹³⁵ But the office was not continuously filled. The *drotseti* ruled only when a minor held the throne or when the king was unable to reside in the kingdom. See Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter*, II. 93.

The seneschal's office was, of course, to be found everywhere in Western Europe during the Middle Ages, but the etymology of the Norse title would indicate that this office was contributed by the Empire.

¹³⁶ *Spec. Reg.*, 186. Appendix.

¹³⁷ *Flateyrbok*, III. 219, 225.

¹³⁸ *N. G. L.*, III. 79.

¹³⁹ Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter*, II. 105.

¹⁴⁰ The four treasurers are instructed as to the payment of fees to the henchmen, how much each shall be paid and in what. They are also told to have the Court Law read to them, but formerly the law was always read to the assembled guard in the royal hall at the Christmas festivities. *N. G. L.*, III. 79.

the marksman (*merkismaðr*) was the highest official at court. He is alluded to in the court poetry of the early eleventh century,¹⁴¹ and everywhere in the sagas he appears as a warrior of great distinction.¹⁴² The marksman was entrusted with the king's banner;¹⁴³ in naval fights he held it in the prow of the royal dragon, with the stem-men, the fiercest and mightiest of the king's guard, grouped about him.¹⁴⁴ The law required that he should always be near the king; he was always to sleep in the king's garth, on the king's ship or wherever the king might be. At court he acted as judge or arbitrator,¹⁴⁵ and the tendency seems to have been to increase his judicial functions.¹⁴⁶ In the thirteenth century, however, the marksman's dignity was evidently passing; he still ranked with the landed-men, but he was no longer the first official at court,¹⁴⁷ the staller and the chancellor having risen above him. With the death of the last marksman in 1320 the office became extinct.

In St. Olaf's hall, as Snorre describes it, there were two high-seats, one for the king on the north side and a lower one directly across. In the lower high-seat sat the staller (*stallari*), an official of great prominence, for a time the highest dignitary at court.¹⁴⁸ Snorre repeatedly refers to the staller in his history, and he is also alluded to in the verses of the eleventh century scalds.¹⁴⁹ Usually the sources speak of but one staller, though at times there might be several.¹⁵⁰ In the poems the staller appears mainly as a war-chief; but in the sagas we find him performing certain important civil duties as well. At great public gatherings, such as the national assemblies, he acted as an intermediary between the king and the yeomanry, presenting the requests of the populace and urging the wishes of the ruler. He performed similar functions in the king's garth.¹⁵¹ "At every 'thing' Biörn stood up and spake the king's

¹⁴¹ Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 412-413, c. 224: the poet Sighvat quoted.

¹⁴² *Egil's Saga*, c. 16, says distinctly that the marksman was the first man at court. See also Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 128, 430, 429, cc. 84, 238, 239, *et passim*.

¹⁴³ *N. G. L.*, II. 411-412: *H.* 23. There were several banners in the host; the marksman bore that of the king. *Flateyrbok*, III. 138.

¹⁴⁴ Snorre, *Harold Fairhair's Saga*, I. 98-99, c. 9.

¹⁴⁵ *N. G. L.*, II. 411-412: *H.* 23.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, III. 64: decree of 1303; this apparently made the marksman the chief judge at court.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, II. 411: *H.* 23.

¹⁴⁸ Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 67, c. 55. So splendidly was the staller attired at times that he was mistaken for the king himself. See *id.*, *Olaf Tryggvesson's Saga*, I. 374, c. 120; *Magnus Barefoot's Saga*, III. 240-241, c. 26.

¹⁴⁹ *Id.*, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 93, 333-334, 433, cc. 70, 170, 240. (Sighvat.)

¹⁵⁰ There were two in 1066. *Fagrskinna*, p. 135. The Court Law sometimes uses the plural form in speaking of the staller.

¹⁵¹ *N. G. L.*, II. 411: *H.* 22.

errand", says the Icelandic historian in speaking of St. Olaf's famous staller.¹⁵² Elsewhere we read of this same Biörn as being sent to Sweden on a diplomatic mission.¹⁵³ He was also a warrior as all the stallers were.¹⁵⁴ In battle they frequently commanded a division of the royal host¹⁵⁵ or one of the principal ships of the king's fleet.¹⁵⁶ When the king travelled by land the staller had some duties with regard to the stable service: he saw that horses and other equipments were properly provided.¹⁵⁷ The staller's connection with this service has led historians to believe that there is a direct connection between his office and that of the Frankish constable. The title itself seems to point to the same origin, though it appears more likely that *stallari* is derived from Old Norse *stallr* than from Latin *stabularius*. But even if we grant that the staller's title and certain of his functions were introduced from abroad, the probabilities are that these were applied or added to an office that was already enjoying a vigorous existence. The sister kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden each had a marshal (*marsk*, clearly derived from some form of O. H. G. *marashalh*—*mariscalcus*, marshal) who served as the highest military functionary in the realm and thus corresponded to the constable of Capetian France; but Norway never had such an official. The staller's chief and characteristic duty was to act as the king's spokesman. A glance at the medieval Norse constitution will reveal the importance of this function. The early Norwegian kings were not absolute monarchs; they had to consider public opinion and seek popular consent in all matters of consequence. The nation was divided into four grand jurisdictions, each with its own assembly; at these gatherings the king often appeared to consult with his fellow-freemen,¹⁵⁸ and it is readily seen that an official who possessed the gifts of oratory and diplomatic sense combined with the prestige of military leadership would be of great service to his lord.¹⁵⁹ It was probably such an official that the Danish conquerors introduced into England in the eleventh century.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵² Snorre, *St. Olaf's Saga*, II. 88, c. 68; see also cc. 59, 91.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, c. 67, 86. See also *Flateyrbok*, III. 118, 219.

¹⁵⁴ He fell at Stiklestad, 1030. Snorre, II. 432, c. 240.

¹⁵⁵ *Flateyrbok*, II. 547.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 583; *Fagrskinna*, p. 129.

¹⁵⁷ *N. G. L.*, II. 411: H. 22.

¹⁵⁸ See Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter*, II., or any good Norwegian history.

¹⁵⁹ The staller spoke on the king's behalf in his absence and also quite generally when he was present; the Norse rulers with the exception of Sverri do not seem to have been orators.

¹⁶⁰ Larson, *King's Household in England*, p. 147.

But as royalty grew stronger the usefulness of the spokesman naturally grew less prominent; in the thirteenth century the king's chief servant was not the staller but a new functionary, the chancellor. There seems to be no direct evidence for the existence of a Norse chancery before the thirteenth century; but charters and other documents were drawn up at court before that time,¹⁶¹ and a royal seal was in use,¹⁶² so there can be little doubt that the institution did have an earlier existence. The chancellor's title may have come in at a later date, but the fact that the Court Law awards this official the highest rank at court¹⁶³ suggests that the office must have existed already for a period of some length. The probabilities are that the chancery was introduced into Norway from England with the royal chapel service in the eleventh century.¹⁶⁴ In addition to his duties in the royal *scriptorium* and additional ones that the king might assign, the chancellor seems to have exercised those of a modern comptroller. "He shall also keep most careful accounts of the crown possessions, including such as are acquired . . . also of those lands that the king may grant to certain of his men and in what year of grace the grant be made. Further he shall make sure that the books containing the land rents due to the king are properly kept, that what should be added is added and that what should be cancelled is cancelled."¹⁶⁵ The office seems always to have been held by an ecclesiastic: Aki, who was Duke Hakon's chancellor (1293-1299), was a deacon of the royal chapel in Bergen;¹⁶⁶ later, when his lord succeeded to the kingship, he was made dean of the royal chapel at Oslo where the king's residence now was.¹⁶⁷ In 1314 the chancellor's office was permanently associated with the deanship of this church. As this arrangement definitely located the chancery at Oslo and prevented the chancellor from travelling about with the king as freely as might be necessary, a vice-chancellor was provided for by the same decree, to whom were entrusted the royal seal and conscience when the king was absent from the capital.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶¹ See *Dipl. Norv.*

¹⁶² The earl of the Orkneys had a chancellor as early as 1190. *Ibid.*, II. 2, no. 2. Seals were in use when Snorre (1177-1241) wrote his history. *Magnus Erlingsson's Saga*, c. 25. Magnus ruled from 1162 to 1184.

¹⁶³ *N. G. L.*, II. 410: H. 22.

¹⁶⁴ Larson, *King's Household in England*, p. 197 ff.

¹⁶⁵ *N. G. L.*, II. 409: H. 21.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, III. 23. (1293.) He was a canon in 1296. *Dipl. Norv.*, IV. 15.

¹⁶⁷ *Dipl. Norv.*, II. 72; IV. 94-95.

¹⁶⁸ *Dipl. Norv.*, I. 127. The vice-chancellor was appointed by the king from among his chapel priests, the chancellor advising; he received one-fourth of the revenues of the seal when actually serving; he was competent to act at any time and place if for any reason the chancellor could not serve.

The chancellor was invested with his office at a special meeting of the henchmen; apparently all the various corps attended. "Then shall the king make known to all that he gives to the man that is named his seal with all the honors that go with it." When this had been proclaimed, the new dignitary would kneel and swear to serve faithfully, especially to conceal what the king wished to be kept secret.¹⁶⁹ The marksman was invested in much the same way; in his case the symbol employed was the banner.¹⁷⁰ The staller's office was conferred in the royal dining-hall. After grace had been said and the king's intentions had been announced, two trencher-swains led forth the chosen one; the king rose, took him by the hand and escorted him to the staller's high-seat.¹⁷¹ In the cases of the other court officials the appointments appear to have been made without any accompanying ceremonial.

The rewards and privileges of these officials were first of all those that they enjoyed as the king's henchmen, as members of the royal hird. In addition there was the enjoyment of official dignity and authority, a seat among the barons when the king entertained his magnates and a certain definite income usually awarded in the form of a landed benefice. The chancellor, while not exactly a member of the hird, shared fully in these benefits. His official income was somewhat smaller than that of the staller or the marksman, but as he was permitted to collect a fee for almost every document prepared, it seems likely that his office proved to be a source of abundant revenue.¹⁷²

The history of Norway in the fourteenth century is a record of great calamities and broken fortunes. The king's household shared in the general decline. Hakon V., the last vigorous ruler of medieval Norway, reduced the importance of the hird by abolishing the baronage: as a believer in absolutism he naturally feared an order that was rapidly developing into an aristocracy. After his death (1319) came half a century of much confusion, caused in part by the terrors of the Black Death and in part by unwise attempts to unite the crowns of Norway and Sweden. From 1380 to 1905, the country was ruled by foreign kings. After 1319 the hird gradually disintegrated. A royal household in the medieval sense could not exist without a resident king.

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¹⁶⁹ *N. G. L.*, II. 409-410: *H.* 21.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 411-412: *H.* 23.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*: *H.* 22. Cf. the method of admitting hirdmen to the baronage.

¹⁷² *N. G. L.*, II. 409, 411, 446: *H.* 21-22, 49-50; III. 77-78.

SOME NOTES ON THE TREATMENT OF THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH

THE reign of Queen Elizabeth of England offers no more fascinating topic for historical research than the government's treatment of her Catholic subjects. Far from tolerant according to modern standards, the national attitude towards the Romanist was much gentler than that adopted towards dissenters from the state religion in most of the Continental countries at the same period; and the queen, on the whole, tended to be more lenient than her Council and her Parliament. Many and various were the methods in which the problem was handled at different stages of the reign, but there is one fundamental principle of the government's policy which remains unchanged throughout: solicitude for the material comfort and political welfare of the realm, rather than religious enthusiasm or zeal for unity of the faith, is ever the consideration of paramount importance. To sacrifice the national prosperity, political, financial or economic on the altar of ecclesiastical polity and dogma (as had been frankly done in the preceding reign), was the furthest possible thing from the minds of Queen Elizabeth and her Council; the measures which they took against the English Romanists were all primarily intended to promote the safety and strength of the realm or to enrich the crown. The contrast with the policy of contemporary Spain or of France under Louis XIV. is striking and significant: while these nations lacerated and impoverished themselves in the excess of their religious zeal, the peace and material comfort of England were preserved in a manner which makes her history in the sixteenth century unique in the annals of the Reformation.

At every turn we encounter evidences of this fundamental principle of the government's policy towards the Romanists—of the entirely practical nature of the considerations which controlled it. Let us take a few examples. In the first place, it is a noteworthy fact that the periods of greatest anti-Catholic activity on the part of the authorities coincide with, or follow closely after, serious political crises, when the safety of the realm or the life of the queen, are endangered by hostile developments abroad or by

rebellions and plots at home. The bulk of the anti-Catholic legislation passed in the Elizabethan parliaments falls in the years 1571–1572, 1581 and 1585–1587—in other words directly after the Rising of the Earls, the Norfolk and Ridolfi plots, after the advent in England of the Jesuits Campion and Parsons, or at the time of Leicester's expedition to the Netherlands, the Babington conspiracy and the execution of the Scottish queen and the immediate prospect of the sailing of the Spanish Armada. And it is not only that the acts are passed at crises like these; it is at these same crises that the authorities bestir themselves most actively to enforce them. In times of comparative quiet, many of the provisions of the penal laws were suffered practically to fall into abeyance, but when the realm was in danger, they were well-nigh certain to be revived. Secondly, in the acts themselves, and still more in the matter of their enforcement, a sharp distinction was drawn between the ardent papist, who actively endeavored to promote the restoration of Roman authority and jurisdiction within the realm, and the mere adherent of Catholic doctrine and ritual, the recusant,¹ who, if he did not frankly acknowledge the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown, was passive also on the question of that of the pope. The latter was practically unmolested during the first twenty-three years of the reign and even after 1581 the statutes passed against him were by no means always rigidly enforced. For the former, who was a rebel as well as a nonconformist, harsher penalties were decreed, and moreover the authorities took far more pains to carry them into effect. But queen and Council were obviously reluctant to persecute for religion's sake alone. Thirdly, in the fact that the government's favorite penalties were fines and confiscations, and that it was clearly the intention of the authorities to make the Catholics pay the expenses of their own supervision and restraint, and if possible a little more, we have not only a characteristic example of Tudor finance, but also another striking evidence of the fundamental principle above laid down. Torture, death penalties and banishments, punishments frequently applied to religious nonconformists on the Continent, were in England sparingly used, and for the most part only in exceptional cases and for special purposes; their extreme severity, and above all the expense and economic and financial exhaustion which they entailed, were rightly judged by the government to be injurious to the weal of the state. Fourthly, it is highly significant, in the same connection, to note

¹I use this word throughout this article in its more specific and restricted sense—i. e., a Catholic who refused to attend divine service in an Anglican church.

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the sharp contrast between the government's policy towards the Protestant nonconformists or Puritans, and towards the Catholics, in its choice in times of special danger between the alternative policies of exile, and of retention, segregation and supervision in England. In general it may be said that the authorities tended more and more as the reign progressed to drive the Puritans from the land as "factious disturbers" of the state, while the policy adopted towards the Catholics was the reverse; from 1572 onward the government attempted, at all important crises, to keep them under strict watch, *within* the realm. This contrast does not come into full view until the year 1593, when both methods of procedure (the one for the Puritans, the other for the Catholics) are definitely formulated in acts passed in Parliament;² but at least twenty years earlier, the establishment of certain places of segregation—notably Ely, Broughton in Oxfordshire and Wisbeach in Cambridge³—to which the recusants were ordered to repair for a sort of easy confinement in times of special danger, gives evidence, at least on the Catholic side, of a tendency in that direction. The chief reason for the above-mentioned contrast in policy is obvious, and brings into clear relief the government's paramount interest in the political safety and welfare of the realm. By exiling the *Puritan*, England would be rid of a contentious disturber and yet would not need to fear his machinations abroad, for he would be destitute of friends and supporters in Continental Europe. To let the *Catholic* escape to France or Spain on the other hand would be highly dangerous, as he would be sure to find friends there to aid and abet any hostile plan or expedition he might conceive against his native land; safer by far, therefore, to permit the Romanist to remain in England under careful supervision.⁴ And lastly, the chief exception to the policy

² 35 Eliz. cc. 1. and 11.

³ The earliest mention of Wisbeach Castle as a place for the confinement of religious prisoners is a letter of the Council to the Bishop of Ely, March 11, 1571/2. *Acts of the Privy Council*, VIII. 73. Cf. also T. G. Law, *Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1889).

⁴ One obvious exception to this general rule is of course the provision in an act of the year 1585 (27 Eliz. c. 11.) whereby all Jesuits and seminary priests were ordered to depart from the realm within forty days after the close of the Parliamentary session. But this exception does not militate against the validity of the general proposition that the government's treatment of the English Catholics was dictated primarily by political expediency; if anything it tends to strengthen it. Jesuits and seminary priests were in a class by themselves, absolute irreconcilables, whose proselytizing in England would do more harm than their plotting on the Continent; it was doubtless safer to expel them at once. The two other exceptions to the general rule of procedure, hereafter to be noted in the text, also favor this interpretation.

of retaining, segregating and supervising the Catholics in England which has just been described is as significant a proof of the government's solicitude for the material welfare of the realm, as could be desired. In the Act of 1593 "against Popishe Recusantes" (the main purport of which was to provide means for the retention of the ordinary Catholic in England) a paragraph was inserted ordaining that very poor recusants (whose total property was of less annual value than twenty marks) should abjure the realm "to the end", as the statute frankly says, "that the Realme be not pestered and overcharged withe the multitude of suche seditious and daungerous people . . . whoe havinge litle or no habilitie to answeere or satisfie any compotent penaltie for their contempte and disobedience of the . . . Laws and Statutes, and beinge commytted to Prison for the same, doe lyve for the moste parte in better case there, then they colde yf they were Abrode at their own libertie"⁵—a striking comment, this, on Elizabethan finance—the man who could not pay for his keep must not be suffered to burden the realm, the more so as his very poverty would be the surest of guarantees against his ability to breed trouble for England abroad. Such are some of the principal evidences of the chiefly practical nature of the considerations that controlled the government's Catholic policy.

It has just been pointed out that in the case of very poor recusants, the usual practice of fining, retaining and segregating the English Catholics within the realm was abandoned because it did not pay. There were also certain special crises when this same generally successful policy broke down and had to be abandoned because it was inadequate and unsuccessful. Such a crisis occurred in the early eighties, when the failure of the first serious efforts to enforce the recusancy fines on any considerable scale caused the authorities for a time to consider a new plan of disposing of the English Catholics. The present article is an attempt to trace the history of this failure and the new plan that resulted from it. Though the years covered by these events witness the high-water mark of the anti-Catholic activity of the Elizabethan government, and though the new plan of dealing with the English Romanists which was then proposed, constitutes another exception to the usual practice of retaining and segregating them within the realm, there is ample evidence throughout of the adherence of the authorities to their fundamental principle of drawing the lines of their Catholic policy in accordance with the dictates of political safety and material welfare.

⁵ 35 Eliz. c. II., section v.

Never had the problem of the English Catholics been more difficult of solution than in the winter of 1580-1581, and yet never had the need of such solution been more pressing. The crisis in the Netherlands was approaching. Ireland was aflame with revolt. The adherents of the imprisoned Scottish queen were unusually active. The first-fruits of Rheims and Douay were already in the realm; Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons had landed at Dover in June, 1580, and in the year that elapsed before the "wandering vagrant" was captured and the "lurking wolf"⁶ retired to Normandy, the result of their efforts was only too plainly evident in the increased activity of the different groups of English Catholics. The authorities on their side were certainly not asleep. The return of Sir Francis Walsingham to England from his embassy to the Netherlands in October, 1578, was signalized by a series of unprecedentedly strenuous efforts to seek out and punish recusants.⁷ For the next five years this able and strongly Protestant minister, at whose service was an extensive spy-system seldom equalled and never surpassed for efficiency in England, inspired, directed and controlled this branch of the government's activity. Arrests and imprisonments increased by leaps and bounds. In Catholic Lancashire, the queen's officers apprehended sixty men for attending mass, and were told that if they continued as they had begun, they would have to imprison the whole country.⁸ Torture by the rack was employed with a frequency which is in striking contrast to the rest of the reign.⁹ "Mr Norton the Rackmaster", was accused in a seditious book of having vaunted that he had pulled the Jesuit Alexander Briant "one good foot longer than ever God made him".¹⁰ The Spanish ambassador tells us that it was a common practice to drive iron spikes between the nails and the quick—a torment which people in Spain imagined would be employed by Anti-Christ, as the most dreadfully cruel of all.¹¹

But imprisonment and torture were by no means all. Both these

⁶ These were the names applied to the two Jesuits in the Parliamentary debates of that year. *D. N. B.*, XLIII. 413.

⁷ The number of entries on this subject in the State Papers for 1580-1582 is nearly four times as large as that for the three preceding years.

⁸ *Span. Cal. for Eliz.*, vol. III., no. 31.

⁹ Cf. D. Jardine, *On the Use of Torture in the Criminal Law of England*, etc., pp. 26-34.

¹⁰ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CLII., no. 72. The "Mr. Norton" here mentioned is Thomas Norton (1532-1584), lawyer and poet, who conducted the examinations of most of the Catholics who were subjected to torture. He is elsewhere described as "the pyncher with paynes". He is not to be confused with Richard Norton (1488-1588), the centogenarian rebel, who died abroad, a pensioner of Philip of Spain, and was usually known as "Old Norton".

¹¹ *Span. Cal. for Eliz.*, vol. III., no. 119.

methods of persecution were expensive, and the authorities were loath to spend money on the Catholics. At all costs they must be made to pay the bills which accrued from the more aggressive attitude which the government had recently adopted towards them. Hitherto the only revenues which had been realized from the English Catholics were the confiscations of the property of those who for one reason or another had incurred the penalties of high treason, provisors and *praemunire*, or felony, the fines of one hundred marks or upwards incident on those "actively depraving" the established service, and the paltry sum of one shilling, forfeited, since 1559, for every unexcused Sunday absence from it. These did not yield enough to support the present active campaign. The obvious way to increase them was to augment the fine incident on absentees from church. Proposals for a Parliamentary statute for this purpose were made at least as early as December, 1580;¹² when the Houses met in the following January, Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer and brother-in-law of Walsingham, made an able and stirring appeal in the Commons for such a measure,¹³ and finally, March 18, 1581, the desired bill was passed under the title of "An Acte to reteine the Queenes Majesties Subjectes in their due Obedience".¹⁴ Its fourth section, which alone concerns us here, imposed the enormous fine of £20 per month on absentees from the English service. The Spanish ambassador gives us a vivid picture of the desperate efforts of the English Catholics to prevent the passage of this act, and of the dread and terror with which they received the news of their failure. They offered the queen 150,000 crowns as a bribe to stop the measure.¹⁵ When, after the statute went into effect, permission was accorded to certain imprisoned Romanists to return to their homes, on condition that they pay the fine and submit to the other provisions of the act, they elected to remain in custody.¹⁶

But the fears of the Catholics were certainly excessive. If the new statute could be enforced, it would doubtless add largely to the income of the queen and greatly weaken and impoverish her foes,

¹² *Span. Cal. for Eliz.*, vol. III., no. 57; State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vols. CXXVII., no. 6 and CXXXVI., no. 15.

¹³ D'Ewes, *Journal*, pp. 285-288.

¹⁴ 23 Eliz. c. 1. After Mildmay's speech, which was delivered January 25, a committee was at once appointed to consider the drawing up of the act, which passed its first, second and third readings in the Commons, on February 8, March 4 and March 6, respectively, was sent up to the Lords and read there March 7 and 8 and finally passed March 18. Cf. D'Ewes, *Journal*, pp. 272, 274, 285-288, 293, 302.

¹⁵ *Span. Cal. for Eliz.*, vol. III., no. 79.

¹⁶ *Span. Cal. for Eliz.*, vol. III., no. 109.

whose condition would indeed be miserable, but the question of enforcement was the *crux* of the whole situation. The omission in the statute of any provision for the seizure and confiscation of lands and goods in default of payment of the fine was to prove serious. Inability to pay the entire sum became at once an excuse for paying nothing at all. The framers of the act had fallen into the grave error of fixing an almost prohibitive amount, and then failing to legislate effectively for the vast majority who could not meet it.¹⁷ The result was what might have been expected: for at least four years after the passage of the statute, there is every reason to think that it was practically inoperative. The unfortunate fact that the Privy Council Register is missing from June 26, 1582, to February 19, 1586, renders it impossible to be absolutely certain in this matter, but the evidence afforded in the different collections of State Papers, the sheriffs' accounts and the Great Roll of the Pipe all point in that direction. In the first place the almost complete absence of any account of measures to collect the fine, or of the income receivable from it in the years 1581-1585, is highly significant, when contrasted with the fullness of information on these topics in the succeeding period. Secondly, there is reason to think that the queen was not over-anxious to see the statute rigidly enforced, and in fact threw her influence in the other direction. She only consented to the passage of the act at the very climax of the crisis in the spring of 1581. The situation was far less acute in the period between 1582 and 1585, and she let her well-known tendency towards leniency to her Catholics subjects be evident in her reluctance to have it take effect. Walsingham complained bitterly of the corruption of the court as a cause of the increase of recusancy.¹⁸ "Her Majesty is slow to believe that the great increase of Papists is of danger to the realm", writes Leicester in the autumn of 1582; "The Lord of His mercye open her eyes."¹⁹ Thirdly, there are several sets of notes and memoranda in Walsingham's hand which give the clearest possible evidence that the queen's minister was profoundly dissatisfied with the working of the statute.²⁰ The most interesting of these are two undated documents which have been assigned by the

¹⁷ The eighth paragraph of the act provided indeed that each delinquent should after three months be "comitted to pryson there to remaine untill he have paied the said somes", but as the prisons were full already and imprisonment was expensive and not profitable, this part of the statute practically remained a dead letter.

¹⁸ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CLVII., no. 51.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. CLV., no. 42.

²⁰ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CLI., nos. 72-73 and vol. CLVII., no. 51.

editor of the *Domestic Calendar* to the year 1581.²¹ They are entitled "The causes why her majestie receyvith no greater benefyt of the penaltie of recusantship" and "The remedies for the evasyons of the recusantes". The first complains of false returns to writs of execution, evasions of recusants by "shifting of places", fraudulent conveyances and undervaluation of lands with intent to defeat the object of the law; the second suggests measures of redress. But perhaps the clearest evidence of the ineffectiveness of the statute in the first few years after its passage is afforded by the history of the government's dealing with the recusants in the period 1585-1587.

The fall of Antwerp in August, 1585, had come as a final proof to Queen Elizabeth of the necessity of adopting active measures in behalf of the United Netherlands, the "strongest bulwark" of England. In September she agreed to dispatch the Earl of Leicester with 6,000 men to the relief of the hard-pressed Dutchmen. It was an expedition necessitated by Spanish and Catholic hostility; and it was therefore eminently fitting and proper, and thoroughly in accordance with the best of Tudor traditions that the English Catholics should contribute to its expense. Commissioners were therefore sent down to the different counties to demand of the local recusants either a number of light-horse "according to their abilitie" or else contributions in money, at the rate of twenty-five pounds for each light-horseman. There were some excuses on the ground of poverty, and some suspiciously opportune and unprecedented attendings of church in disproof of recusancy and the obligations pertaining thereto, but in general the result of the commissioners' efforts was highly satisfactory; a number of light-horse and a considerable sum of money were received by the authorities in the autumn of 1585 and the spring of 1586.²² The contrast between the comparative success of the recent effort to extract a single moderate contribution of twenty-five pounds or its equivalent from the recusants at a crisis with the almost complete failure to gain a regular monthly revenue of twenty pounds from them, was striking and significant. It showed

²¹ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CLI., nos. 72-73. A number of statements in these documents about the valuation of recusants' lands might be taken to indicate that the document belongs to a later date—when seizure of lands and goods was authorized in default of the payment of the fine—which was not till after 1587. The conjectural dating in the *Calendar* may however in this case be correct, for the statement in regard to recusants' lands can be explained by the fact that a commission was sent out to value them in December, 1580, previous to the passage of the act. Cf. *Span. Cal.* for Eliz., vol. III., no. 57.

²² State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CLXXXIII., nos. 15, 23, 32, 33, 35, 38, 40, 45, 46, 51, 53, 57, 61, 62, 71, 72; vol. CLXXXIV., nos. 41, 45, 46, 61.

the authorities that the enormous demand imposed by the statute of 1581 had overshot the mark, but that a less excessive fine might very likely be enforced. The next proceeding of the government shows that it took this important lesson to heart.

On February 25, 1586, the Council sent a notable letter²³ to the sheriffs and justices of the different shires. It begins with an expression of Her Majesty's satisfaction at the "readye and willinge disposicion" of the local recusants "in yeldinge to the Charge latly layd on them for the providinge and furnishinge of certaine light horses . . . for her highnes present service in the lowe Countries"; it goes on to say that Her Majesty is now content to grant them "some ease and alleuiacion" of the penalties "by the Lawes inflicted vppon them for their disobedience" and finally requires the sheriffs and justices to call all the recusants in their county before them and "requier them to make offer and sett downe euery man accordinge to his particular value what yearly sume he can be Contented of his owne disposition to allowe as afforsaid, to be discharged of the perill and penaltie of the lawe wherunto they may stand subiecte and liable by reason of their recusancye". For the better guidance of the local authorities, the Council enclosed in each copy of this letter its own list or "scedull" of the recusants in the county to which it was sent, and adjured the sheriffs and justices to get hold of all persons named in it and also "others not named" if possible. As a hint of the government's notion of the proper amount of the recusants' "offerings", the letter goes on to lay down a few rules of proportion, and states that Her Majesty regards those with an annual income of over 240 pounds "gratiously and favorably dealte withall . . . if she accept the one halfe of the [statutory] penaltie and acquite them of the other", those whose income varies from 240 pounds to 150 "if she takes the thirde parte of their valuation" and those under 150 pounds if she accept a quarter. A number of passages in the letter emphasize the necessity of precautions against undervaluation of property: the "jurors and officers thereunto appointed by her Majestie" having proved "parcial" in times past, the recusants' estimates are to be judged in future only by "sufficient men well affected in Religyon"; such recusants as fail to "deall plainely . . . in openninge the trew state of their liuinge . . . shall aunswer the wholle penaltie inflicted by the Statute in respect of their abuse of her Majesties favour so graciously offered vnto them".

²³ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CLXXXVI., nos. 81-83. Three drafts of this letter exist to-day in the Record Office, all in the hand of one of the clerks of the Council, and copiously corrected and enlarged by Walsingham himself.

If this attempt to secure at least partial enforcement of the statute of 1581 had not come so long after the passage of the act; and perhaps if it had not come so soon after the demand for light-horse, it might have been more successful. The authorities had certainly done wisely in modifying the terms of the original fine, which had defeated itself by its own excessiveness, and in adjusting their demand to the actual conditions of those on whom it was laid. But the fact that the law had been practically inoperative so long, and still more that there was lacking any adequate statutory provision for the treatment of those who failed to pay the fine, made the directions in the Council's letter of February 25, 1586, almost impossible to fulfil. Returns from seventeen different shires with notes of hand of the recusants in them are preserved in the Record Office,²⁴ and they give most interesting and diverse pictures of local conditions. The number of recusants' names in the "scedulls" sent down by the Council varies greatly: that for Hampshire contained seventy; those for Northampton and Durham but six each. Never do the local authorities succeed in finding all the persons named in the Council's list; very rarely do they manage to unearth others: against the names of absentees are entered such statements as "dead two yeres ago", "outlaw in Scotlande", "in the gaole indicted of high treason", "persuaded two yeres ago and comith diligentlie to the churche", "non inventus", "out of the shire", "thought to be in France", "in Wisbiche", "no recusant", "hath received and been partaker of the Holie Communion", "pretendeth that he hathe a dispensation"—all of which goes to show (particularly for the remote counties) that the Council's information was not up to date. Of those who were actually haled before the authorities, a large proportion are reported as "of no abillitie", "nothing worthe", or "nil"; many "offerings" are made of less than five pounds (some of them only ten shillings); anything over fifty pounds is decidedly the exception. Most of the notes of hand are half-pathetic, half-ludicrous corroborations of the reports of the authorities; those of the poorer recusants are not infrequently signed with "a marke". The opinion of the local authorities on the fairness of the recusants' offers is not seldom given, and very variously: while the Staffordshire officers maintained that the recusants in their county had "sett downe as moche (their estates considered) as their abilities will well stretch vnto", those of Buckingham held the offers in their shire "slendre

²⁴ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CLXXXVII., nos. 45, 48, 49, 64; vol. CLXXXVIII., nos. 9, 15, 16, 29, 32, 38, 42, 51; vol. CLXXXIX., nos. 2, 17, 47, 48; vol. CXC., no. 11.

in respect of suche an Immunitie from soe greate penalties of the lawe as they be subiect to for their vngodly and contemptuouse course of lief". But in general it is clear that less was realized from the new plan of "compositions for recusansye" than had been expected. In October, 1586, after most of the reports from the different shires had come in, Walsingham drew up another rather grumbling set of "Observations in the offers of the Recusantes"²⁵ which clearly reflects his dissatisfaction. The lists were imperfect; the recusants had not been "pressed . . . to deliuer their livelihoods"; in estimating their property they gave only the lands lying in the county where they were called up, though "seased of far greater possessions in other shires", "manie . . . rated their Liuinges" according to ancient and obsolete "rents of assesse" and "by that proportion frame their offers"; some were "of so great Alliance and partie in the countie" that the authorities dared not "certifie the iuste values"; "manie . . . in diuers counties . . . com to Church but receiue not [the Sacrament] and so escape the penaltie of the statute". The fine imposed by the statute of 1581 was no longer an absolutely dead letter perhaps, but it certainly yielded far less than its framers had looked for.

It was doubtless the increasingly threatening situation at home and abroad in the winter of 1586-1587 that caused the passage in Elizabeth's sixth parliament of the act that was to make the statute of 1581 for the first time reasonably effective in practice. It has already been pointed out that the great fault of the Act of 1581 was its failure to provide for the seizure and confiscation of the property of those who failed to pay the fine; this omission was now rectified by an enactment, which in addition to regulating the ways and times of such payment, provided that in default of it, the Queen's Majesty might seize and enjoy all the goods and two-thirds of the lands, tenements, etc., of the delinquent.²⁶ From the moment that act went into effect, the revenues the government derived from recusancy began to increase with gratifying rapidity.²⁷ Doubtless

²⁵ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CXCV., no. 73.

²⁶ 29 Eliz. c. vi. This bill passed its first, second and third readings in the Commons, March 14, 16 and 18, respectively, was sent up to the Lords and finally passed there March 20. D'Ewes, pp. 387-388 and 415-417. There was apparently no opposition.

²⁷ The State Papers and accounts from 1588 to the close of the reign furnish ample evidence of this. The whole problem of the recusancy fines was organized and systematized as never before, queen and Council uniting in a strenuous effort to make the English Catholics a really effective source of revenue. The work of rounding up the recusants and valuing their lands was taken from the local authorities and given to minions of the Council, who, entirely removed from local

Parliament and Council, if left to themselves, would have been glad to pass it earlier. But it needed a supreme crisis to make Queen Elizabeth shake off her natural tendency towards leniency to her Catholic subjects, just as it needed a supreme crisis to conquer her aversion to war with Spain. From the nature of the case it is impossible to prove it, but there is strong reason to suppose that it was chiefly her influence that delayed so long the passage of the one measure that alone could render really effective the Act of 1581.

The discussion of the events of 1585-1586 which led to the passage of the Act of 1587 and consequently to the first really prejudices, went about their business in the most cold-blooded spirit and with the sole idea of gaining revenue for the crown. Their activity moreover was usually stimulated by a promise of an "allowance out of the forfeitures" they should secure, and also by the first chance to buy from the queen the lease of confiscated recusants' lands (State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CCXXIX., no. 68). The consequent sudden increase in the number of the incoming items naturally overburdened the Great Roll of the Pipe; the copying and arranging of them was a task of great expense and difficulty (*ibid.*, vol. CCXLI., no. 66), so that in 1591-1592 it was deemed wise to inaugurate a separate account for the recusancy revenues alone. Thus originated the Recusant Rolls, in two sets (the Chancellors Series and the Pipe Series); the latter are continuous down to 1686, save for the years 1650, 1659, 1661-1663 and 1670-1674, which are missing. In these Recusant Rolls, the rents paid and payable by lessees of confiscated lands are entered indiscriminately with the twenty-pound fines paid and payable by those recusants who were able to do so (Gardiner tells us that at the death of Elizabeth there were but sixteen of these in the realm. *History of England*, I. 96); sums actually paid the government are usually indicated by the addition of the phrase "Quietus est"; sums due, but not paid on the first demand, by the words "Fiat Commissio". The fines and rents were usually collected semi-annually—at Michaelmas and Easter—and it is interesting to note, as an evidence of the firm intention of the authorities to exact the uttermost farthing, that in the case of those who paid the fine, the months were often reckoned (as by Oliver Cromwell with the first Protectorate Parliament) on the lunar not the calendar basis, so that the yearly sum became 260 instead of 240 pounds. An accurate estimate of the amount annually realized by the government from recusancy is almost impossible to obtain. A document in the Record Office (State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CCLI., no. 53), dated "Xmo Martii 1594[5]", entitled "The names of the Recusantes with their severall sommes of monie paie into the Receipte since Michaelmas last", and signed "Edw. Wardoure, Clericum pellium" gives the total for the half-year as £3323, 1s. and 10d.; but at the close of the account Wardour sagely reflects as follows: "There is as I verelie thinke much more monie risinge by Recusantes which is still paie to the Sheriffes of the Counties, and so past in their particular accomptes in the piep office"—(a conjecture which is corroborated by various statements in the Recusant Rolls for the same year such as "seu ad receptorem Scaccarii, . . . [soluta], seu ad manus vicecomitis", Rec. Rolls 37 Eliz., Bucks) and finally suggests "that all monie growinge therby should be particulierlie paie into the Receipte". Whether this suggestion was acted upon or not, I have been unable to discover, but there is strong reason to think that more revenue came in to the queen from her Catholic subjects at the end of the reign, than was regularly accounted for under that head. Cf. W. H. Frere, *English Church under Elizabeth and James I.*, pp. 214, 265-267, 337.

effective operation of the Act of 1581, have carried us somewhat past the period where the rest of our story lies—the period previous to 1584, when the Act of 1581, at least as far as the twenty-pound fine went, was practically a dead letter. The early failure of that statute naturally led the government to consider other means of dealing with the English Catholics. Imprisonment and segregation had proved expensive, banishment to the Continent was in most cases deemed dangerous. Yet the critical situation at home and abroad dictated the necessity of action of some sort. Among several different solutions of the problem which suggested themselves to the authorities there is one—for a short time strenuously advocated, and probably originated by Sir Francis Walsingham himself—which deserves more attention than it has hitherto received,²⁸ though it was never actually carried out in practice. This was nothing less than a plan to transport some of the English Catholics to North America, with the idea of ridding the realm of their presence, and yet not incurring the risks which banishment to the Continent might entail. In order to see how this scheme took shape we must pause for a moment and examine briefly the biography of the man with whom it is chiefly connected—a certain Sir George Peckham of Denham, Bucks.²⁹

Born about the year 1535, this man had succeeded in 1569 to the extensive estates and considerable property which his father, famous as treasurer of the mint under Henry VIII. and Mary, had gathered in at the dissolution of the monasteries. He was a kinsman of Henry Wriothesley, third earl of Southampton, the patron of Shakespeare: indeed the first earl of Southampton had received his earliest preferment at the court of Henry VIII. through the influence of Peckham's father, in whose house he had dwelt for eight or nine years.³⁰ The latter had lived and died a zealous Catholic; his two eldest sons, Robert and Henry, were also loyal to the ancient faith: the former even exiled himself from his native land at the

²⁸ J. G. Shea (*History of the Catholic Church in the U. S.*, I. 19-24) and Father T. Hughes (*History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, I. 146-149) both discuss this project, but without adequate knowledge of all the available material.

²⁹ The principal authorities on Peckham's life are given at the close of the brief account of him in the *D. N. B.* To that list may be added R. H. Lathbury's *History of Denham* (Uxbridge, 1904); T. G. Law's "Devil Hunting in Elizabethan England" in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1894; and the *Victoria History of the County of Buckingham*, *passim*. The present writer expects soon to print certain unpublished documents and additional information concerning Peckham in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*.

³⁰ B. M. Lansd., 61, p. 204.

accession of Elizabeth for religion's sake and died in Rome in 1569. But with the third son, George, with whom we are now concerned, the case was very different. Up to 1578 there is not the slightest indication that he adhered to the Roman faith, and even later we have no evidence that he ever in his life openly professed it. It is true that when Queen Elizabeth visited him at Denham in 1570, the cautious sovereign—remembering the Catholic traditions of the place—took care to have a new door made for her bedchamber and to provide an enormous number of “lokes”, “boltes”, staples and hinges for the better securing of it;³¹ but her precautions were unnecessary, and she was sufficiently pleased with the welcome she had received to confer on her host the honor of knighthood. Peckham's loyalty in politics and religion is further proved by his appointment as high sheriff of Buckingham in 1573,³² and by the confidence and respect of the Lords of the Council, who from 1573 to 1578 literally deluged him with a series of orders to settle land-disputes, keep an eye on suspected persons and deal with other similar matters.³³ His name does not appear on any of the lists of local Catholics nor later on the Recusant Rolls, and it is significant that he built a church for the parish of Denham in 1580.³⁴

But though we have no evidence that he ever openly professed the Catholic faith, it is perfectly clear in the later seventies that his sympathies for it and its adherents were at last stirred in a way which caused him for the first time in his life to take active measures in its behalf. Through the influence of his second wife, the daughter of his neighbor David Penne, a notorious recusant, he was led into the serious offense of giving funds to the keepers of London prisons to be distributed to the captives there for religion's sake, and also into the much weightier crime of giving shelter to the Jesuit Campion. On these two charges he was examined before the Council, December 21, 1580, and imprisoned: his early release, March 1, 1581, under a thousand-pound bond is doubtless to be explained on the ground of the confidence of the government and his own previous good record.³⁵ But Peckham's efforts on behalf of the English Catholics did not cease there. For some time past

³¹ Bib. Bodl. Rawl. MSS., 195 C, f. 318 b.

³² B. M. Cart. Harl., 84 C, 37, 38.

³³ B. M. Cart. Harl., 84 C, 32, 37, 38; 84 I, 6; 85 E, 49; 85 G, 41; 86 B, 2, 3, 11, 20, 22-24; 112 C, 8. *Acts of the Privy Council*, VIII. 117, 118, 122-123, 136, 232, 357; IX. 239; X. 155, 191; XII. 92.

³⁴ Lipscomb's *Buckinghamshire*, IV. 457.

³⁵ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CXLIV., nos. 56, 57, 58; vol. CXLVII., no. 4. *Acts of the Privy Council*, XII. 282-283, 291, 296, 325, 346.

he had been intimate with Sir Thomas Gerard, a notorious papist, who had already been in prison for an attempt to liberate Mary Queen of Scots; in 1580 a marriage between the children of the two men rendered the bond that united them closer.³⁶ For the next six years they were almost inseparable, and busily engaged in the prosecution of new schemes for the relief of the English Romanists. The nature and extent of these schemes will soon be apparent.

As early as the year 1574, we know that Peckham had been interested in American exploration. In March of that year he had signed, in company with Sir Humphrey Gilbert and other gentlemen, a petition to the queen to be allowed to undertake a voyage of discovery in Western waters.³⁷ Nothing came of it at the time, and though Gilbert steadily pursued his efforts to gain a charter till at last he was successful in 1578,³⁸ Peckham had apparently lost interest in the matter. But after his imprisonment in the winter of 1580-1581, and after the passage of the law of March 18, 1581, which doubtless terrified him as it did others, in a way which its early non-enforcement scarcely warranted, he returned to the project of American exploration again; this time distinctly with the idea of finding a refuge in this country for oppressed recusants. Sir Thomas Gerard eagerly supported him. On June 6, 1582, they signed articles of agreement concerning their proposed expedition with Sir H. Gilbert, whose prospects of sailing were now brighter and more immediate than ever before; and whose fears of the Catholicism of his associates were much less than his need of the funds which they were prepared to contribute.³⁹

It now remains to examine the very important question of the attitude of the English government, represented by Sir Francis Walsingham, toward this new scheme of Peckham and Gerard. It is certain that the queen's minister had heard of it at least as early as April, 1582 (nearly seven weeks before the signature of the above-mentioned articles of agreement of Peckham, Gerard and Gilbert), a letter from a spy dated the nineteenth of that month gave him the gist of the whole matter.⁴⁰ But that is by no means all. There is also strong reason to think that Walsingham knew of

³⁶ Lathbury, p. 274. Gerard was of course the father of Father John Gerard of Gunpowder Plot fame. On him see J. Morris, *Condition of the Catholics under James I.*, pp. ix, x, ccliii, 26, 27.

³⁷ *Cal. Col. Add.*, 1574-1674, no. 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 3.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. 14-15.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 13.

the plan even earlier than that, nay more that he was the one who actually put into Peckham's and Gerard's heads, for purposes of his own, the idea of transporting Catholics to North America; and it is certain that from the very outset he favored the project heart and soul. It has already been pointed out that the general situation in 1582-1583 was such as would naturally cause the queen's minister to welcome an opportunity safely to dispose of a portion of the English Catholics. The measures already taken against them had proved inadequate and expensive; the realm was in danger: the plan that recommended itself to Peckham and Gerard as a measure to save the recusants from persecution would naturally appeal to the government as a means of gaining safety for England at a serious crisis. But there is far more definite and specific evidence of Walsingham's interest in and furtherance of Peckham's and Gerard's project than this. The limits of this article forbid the discussion of all the various documents in the Record Office and elsewhere⁴¹ which bear on the proposed expedition and the government's attitude towards it: but it is hoped that an analysis of the three most important ones will make clear the relations of the parties concerned.

The first is a set of articles of petition sent to Walsingham by Peckham and Gerard, probably in the spring of 1582,⁴² asking for license to "all souche persons whose names shall be sett downe in a booke Indented for that purpose" to travel into certain heathen lands, granted to the petitioners by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight. The last five paragraphs are of sufficient importance for the present purpose to be quoted in full. They read as follows:

Item, the recusantes of Abilitie that will travell as aforesaide maie have libertie vppon discharge of the penallties dewe to her Majestie in that behallfe to prepare themselves for the saide voiage.

Item that other recusantes not havinge to satisfie thesaide penaltie maie not with standinge have lyke libertie to provide As aforesaide And

⁴¹ *Ut supra* and Close Roll 24 Eliz., part 6, no. 1126; 25 Eliz., part 7, no. 1153, and part 8. State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CXLVI., no. 40; vol. CLV., no. 86; vol. CLVI., no. 13; vol. CLVIII., no. 59; vol. CLXI., no. 44; vol. CLXV., no. 35. These are summarized in *Cal. Col. Add.*, 1574-1674, pp. 8-24. See also Hakluyt's *Voyages* (edition of 1903-1905), VIII. 41, 131; and *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. 92, pp. 396-398.

⁴² State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. CXLVI., no. 40. This document was erroneously assigned to the year 1580 by the editor of the *Domestic Calendar* (vol. for 1547-1580, p. 695), while the *Colonial Calendar* places it conjecturally in August, 1582 (*Cal. Col. Add.*, 1574-1674, p. 12). I incline to place it in the spring of that year for reasons which appear later. The document is printed in full in Shea, I. 20-22.

to sta[nde] charged for the paiement of the saide penallties vntill souche tyme as god shall make them able to paie thesame.

Item that none vnder Colour of thesaide lycence shall departe owte of the Realme vnto any other forein Christian Realme.

Item that they nor anye of them shall doo any Acte tendinge to the breache of the leage betwene her Majestie and any other Prince in amytye with her highnes neither to the preiudice of her Majestie or this Realme.

Item that the xth. person which they shall carrie with theim shalbe souche as have not Any certaintie wherevppon to lyve or mainetaine themselves in Englande.

It is quite obvious in all these clauses that Peckham and Gerard had learned on what conditions the government would consent to the recusant emigration which they desired. The first two savor of a despairing attempt to collect the statutory fine before departure, the next two indicate the solicitude of the authorities that the national safety should not be endangered by the escape of Catholics to Continental Europe, or by trespass on the American lands of the King of Spain; the last looks like a frank attempt to get rid of a certain proportion of very poor recusants—a foreshadowing in fact of the famous clause in the Act of 1593.⁴³ The way in which the provisions of the petition squared with the interests of the man to whom it was addressed is very striking. Is it too much to conjecture (especially when we consider that it was a favorite practice of Tudor statesmen to evade the responsibility for measures which they originated, by forcing others to petition for them)⁴⁴ that Peckham and Gerard sent this request to the queen's minister at his own suggestion, and with the certain foreknowledge that he would, as indeed he did, accept it? The other documents that remain to be examined would tend to bear out this conclusion.

A draft of a letter, unsigned and unaddressed, dated in the year 1583, though without month or day, next claims our attention. It reads as follows:

After my Hartie Commendacions whereas I am enformed by Mr Anthonie Brigham that vpon some conference he findeth in you a verie good enclynacion to the westerne discoueries so as you maie be sufficientlie authorised so to doe and haue a Societie by yourselves without ioigning with anie gent or anie other Citties or Townes other then suche as yourself shall make choice of. I am of opinion you shall doo

⁴³ Father Hughes (I. 148) takes this clause to mean "liberty for a tenth part of the whole company to consist of servants or able-bodied retainers", but fails to adduce any additional evidence in support of this somewhat startling interpretation.

⁴⁴ Compare the origin of the "Supplication of the Commons against the Ordinances" in January, 1532, and of the First Act of Annates of the same year.

well to herken vnto suche offers as Sir Philipp Sidney and Sir George Peckham will make vnto you who have sufficient Auctoritie by and under her Majesties Letteres patentes to performe the effect of your Desire. No whit mystrusteng but that this voiaige will prove proffitable to thadventurers in particler and generallie beneficiale to the whole realme. So expecteing you aunswere I bidd you hartelie farewell the daie of
1583

Your loveing Freind

As the style of this letter particularly towards its close bears strong resemblance to that of Walsingham, and as the handwriting is identical with that in which much of his correspondence is written, I conclude that it emanated from the queen's minister.⁴⁵ It was probably intended to be sent to a number of different persons—a circular letter in fact. Its contents certainly afford good evidence of the secretary's desire to advance the expedition of Peckham and Gerard. The appearance in it of the name of Sir Philip Sidney is a further corroboration of this conclusion. That young knight was at this moment a suitor for the hand of the daughter of Walsingham, who favored the match but felt that Sidney's poverty was an insuperable obstacle. Since July 7, 1582,⁴⁶ Sidney had been possessed of an American patent of considerable value: he was now desirous of selling it in order to gain the money necessary for his marriage, and Walsingham was anxious to help him. In July, 1583, a purchaser was found in Peckham himself,⁴⁷ who was just then pursuing his emigration scheme more energetically than ever: Sidney was thereby enabled to withdraw from the "adventurers", and in September wedded the lady of his choice.

The other document that remains to be presented is a passage in a letter from the Spanish ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, to his master, Philip II., dated at London, July 11, 1582. It summarizes and corroborates the conclusions to which the evidence

⁴⁵ State Papers. Dom., Eliz., vol. CLXV., no. 35. The calendaring of this document (*Cal. Col. Add.*, 1574-1674, no. 30) can only be described as extraordinary. It is such as to imply that the letter was written *to* Walsingham. There is not a scintilla of evidence to support this save the use of the word "for" in the endorsement, which is as follows: "The mynute of a lettere for Mr Secretary"; and this can be equally well explained on the ground that it was a draft "*for* Mr Secretary" to approve or sign. All the rest of the evidence strongly favors the assumption that it was *from* Walsingham. The expressions at the beginning and end are those most frequently used in Tudor times by people of high rank and office when addressing inferior or unknown persons.

⁴⁶ Close Roll 25 Eliz., part 7, no. 1153. This document is erroneously assigned to the year 1583 in the *Cal. Col. Add.*, 1574-1674 (p. 22), through confusion of the dates of execution and enrollment of the agreement. Mr. E. Salisbury of the Public Record Office kindly furnished me this information.

⁴⁷ *Cal. Col. Add.*, 1574-1674, no. 29.

already afforded clearly points the way. The following translation of it by Major Martin Hume appears in the third volume of the *Spanish Calendar* for the reign of Elizabeth.⁴⁸

As I wrote some time ago, Humphrey Gilbert was fitting out ships to gain a footing in Florida, and in order to make this not only prejudicial to your Majesty's interests, but injurious to the Catholics here, whilst benefiting the heretics, Walsingham indirectly approached two Catholic gentlemen, whose estate had been ruined, and intimated to them that, if they would help Humphrey Gilbert in the voyage their lives and liberties might be saved, and the Queen, in consideration of the service, might be asked to allow them to settle there (Florida) in the enjoyment of freedom of conscience and of their property in England, for which purpose they might avail themselves of the intercession of Philip Sidney. As they were desirous of living as Catholics, without endangering their lives, they thought the proposal was a good one, and they gave an account of it to other Catholics, who also approved of it, and offered to aid the enterprise with money. Petitions were presented to the Queen upon the subject, and she has granted them a patent under the Great Seal of England to colonize Florida on the banks of the river Norumbeage where they are to be allowed to live as their conscience dictates, and to enjoy such revenues as they may possess in England. This privilege is not confined to those who leave here for the purpose of colonization, but is extended to all Englishmen away from England, even to those who may have been declared rebels, and whom the Queen now restores to her grace and favour, embracing them once more as loyal subjects. The only object of this is to weaken and destroy them by any means, since they have now discovered that persecution, imprisonment, and the shedding of martyrs' blood only increase the number of Catholics; and if the proposed measure be adopted the seminaries abroad cannot be maintained, nor would it be possible for the priests who come hither to continue their propaganda, if there were no persons here to shelter and support them. By this means what little sound blood be left in this diseased body would be drained. I gave notice to the Catholics, through the priests who go amongst them, what was the real object of the Queen and Council in extending this favour to them, and also that the country in question belonged to your Majesty and was defended by fortresses, so that directly they landed they would be slaughtered as Jean Ribaut was. In addition to this, I say, that their consciences will be touched, as they will be acting against the interests of His Holiness, who should be informed of the matter through Dr. Allen, so that they, the Catholics, might learn whether they could properly undertake the voyage.

This action of mine has caused some of them to withdraw whilst others, out of indifference, persist in their intention, believing that it is not really against your Majesty, because in the map the country is

⁴⁸ Pp. 384-385. Printed in full (like many of the other letters translated and summarized in the *Spanish Calendars*) in the *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. 92, pp. 396-400. Major Hume kindly sent me a copy of his transcription of the original document in Simancas, which is practically identical with the version in the *Documentos Inéditos*. The translation in the *Calendar* is a faithful rendering of both.

called "New France", which, they say, proves that it was discovered by Frenchmen, and that since Cortés fitted out ships on the coast to go and conquer countries for the Catholic church, they could do the same. I have also written about it to the Abbot Briceño in Rome, as well as to Dr. Allen, pointing out how important it is that they should make every effort to prevent the enterprise in the interest of the conversion of England.

This letter, if it can be relied on at all, not only shows that Walsingham originated and favored the project of sending the English Catholics to this country, with the idea of ridding the realm of their presence; but also that Mendoza saw through the minister's plan, made up his mind that it would weaken, rather than relieve Catholicism in England and therefore set himself strenuously to oppose it. He might have saved himself the trouble indeed, for the disaster to Gilbert's expedition⁴⁹ which finally sailed precisely eleven months after he had written this letter put an end for the time being to the whole affair, despite the efforts of Peckham, who issued a notable pamphlet on the advantages of American colonization,⁵⁰ with the idea of stirring people up to a renewal of the attempt. The story of the rest of Peckham's life is interesting but scarcely germane to the present subject, for he busied himself about other matters till his death in 1608.⁵¹ There is no record of any attempt by a Catholic to repeat the experiment which he had made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the second year of the reign of James I. a certain Mr. Winslade "with a Spanish and traitorous heart" proposed to Father Parsons, then stationed as rector of the English College at Rome, a scheme of Catholic emigration to America, similar to that of Peckham, but was dissuaded from pursuing it further by the strong disapprobation of the Jesuit leader.⁵² The letter in which Father Parsons condemned the plan is a very noteworthy vindication, from the Catholic point of view, of the attitude of Mendoza in 1582: specific reference is made in it to the project of Peckham and Gerard, the same adverse arguments—the arousing of the jealousy of the King of Spain by prob-

⁴⁹ September, 1583. Peckham and Gerard had of course remained in England.

⁵⁰ Printed in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, VIII. 89 ff.

⁵¹ In 1585–1586 he lent his ancestral estate at Denham for the purposes of John Darrell and Father William Weston, the exorcists, whose doings there are described in detail in Harsnett's *Egregious Popish Impostures* (1603), and more recently in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1894, by T. G. Law. After 1586 Peckham lost his property, and the remainder of his life is for the most part a sad commentary on the horrors of debtors' prisons in the reign of Elizabeth.

⁵² On Winslade, see Hughes, I. 153 ff.; Shea, I. 25; H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the S. J.*, IV. 169 ff.; Christopher Green, S. J., *Collectanea*, part I., f. 337 b and B. M. Add., 21, 203, Plut. CIII F.

able trespassing on his American lands, prejudice to the cause of Catholicity in England, by diminution of the Catholic body there, etc.—are advanced.⁵³ Faint traces of other similar attempts are discernible in the history of the next twenty-five years;⁵⁴ finally, under widely different circumstances, a home was found for the oppressed Catholics by Lord Baltimore in Maryland in 1634. But the other side of the picture should not be forgotten. Long before this country became a haven of refuge for religious dissenters—Catholic or Puritan—the English government planned to utilize it as a means of safely disposing of the former, an overflow for a dangerous and undesirable portion of the population, a sort of penal colony or Botany Bay. It was doubtless as practical and inexpensive a solution of the problem that confronted the authorities in 1582–1583 as could have been devised. That it was so strenuously opposed by the Catholic leaders is ample proof of its effectiveness from the government's point of view.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

⁵³ Printed in full in Hughes, *Documents*, I. 3–5.

⁵⁴ Cf. the careers of Captain George Weymouth, Edward Maria Wingfield, Andrew White and Thomas Lord Arundell of Wardour. See Shea, I. 25–27, *D. N. B.* and Hughes, I. 155 ff.

A FRENCH CO-OPERATIVE HISTORICAL ENTERPRISE

ON several occasions the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has directed the attention of its readers to the volumes published by the Commission appointed under the Ministry of Public Instruction in Paris to collect and publish documents relating to the economic life of the French Revolution. This commission is at present directing the most important enterprise of co-operative historical work which has been undertaken in France for sixty years. I have thought that a brief account of the organization of this enterprise, its operation and the results obtained up to the present time might be of some interest to American students of history, and I extend my thanks to the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for kindly agreeing to accept the following pages on this subject.¹

At the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies on November 27, 1903, M. Jean Jaurès, the well-known public man, who is also a historian of great talent, proposed a preliminary appropriation for the classification and publication of the archive-documents bearing upon the economic history of the French Revolution. He showed the great value for the study of the origins of contemporary France of a systematic edition of the *cahiers de doléances* that were drawn up by cities and country districts in 1789 and submitted to the States-General, or of the documents relating to the question, still so little understood, of the sale of the nationalized property. In regard to agriculture, commerce, industry, etc., during the period of the Revolution, collections of texts published by the state would be the only means of placing at the disposition of historians desirous of going to the bottom of things the data indispensable to their work.

The proposition of M. Jaurès, eloquently presented and supported by deputies of various opinions, was adopted. Historians, too, gave it a warm reception. Up to that time the economic history of the Revolution had been greatly neglected in favor of the political, diplomatic, military and religious history. The study of its economic history presented many difficulties: the dispersion and disorder of

¹ For full details, see my articles relative to the commission in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, VI. 443, and VIII. 545. The journal called *La Révolution Française* regularly keeps its readers informed of the meetings and the work of the commission.

the documents, the lack of the elementary instruments of research and the almost complete obscurity of the main lines of the subject. An extensive, general examination of all material was needed, but it was foreseen that this would be long and costly, and there were no indications that it would be undertaken soon. From the Institute, little disposed to assume a task so heavy, and indifferent, if not hostile, to the period of the Revolution, nothing was to be expected. Neither was anything to be expected from the Comité des Travaux Historiques, a body much inclined to the same prejudices and not possessing the indispensable personnel and resources. As for the private societies—the Société d'Histoire de la Révolution and the Société d'Histoire Moderne—their slender resources rendered it impossible for them to assume such a burden. The state only could do what was required. The adoption of M. Jaurès's proposition, then, was a stroke of good fortune.

On December 23, 1903, the Minister of Public Instruction, in pursuance of this vote, appointed a special commission, with M. Jaurès as president. This commission immediately met and at its first sitting formed a permanent sub-commission of its own members to have charge of the preparation of the work. Provincial collaborators were also needed in order to collect and prepare for publication the documents preserved in the departmental archives. At the request of the commission, the minister appointed in the chief town of each department a committee of about twenty members, who, in their turn secured correspondents, especially from among the teachers, in the principal communes.

For two years past, this organization has not been modified. The commission, which was at first composed of twenty-eight members, now numbers forty-five, including senators, deputies, high officials, professors of history in the universities, archivists and men of learning. The personnel of the departmental committees has undergone many changes, but the professional historians and the archivists have kept everywhere the preponderant rôle which they played throughout the formative period.

The commission is connected with a bureau of the Direction of Higher Education. Legally, it possesses only consultative powers; it gives advice, which the administration is free to follow or not. As a matter of fact, the decisions of the commission are always carried out. The permanent sub-commission² holds its meetings

² The commission includes, in addition to the representatives of the administration, the following members: MM. A. Aulard, professor in the University of Paris; Camille Bloch, inspector-general of libraries and archives; A. Brette,

frequently. It is this body which dispatches current business; corresponds with the departmental committees; draws up the general and special instructions; weighs projects for publications; and superintends the printing. At periodic intervals, meetings of the whole commission are held, when the sub-commission reports on the work it has done, submits the instructions which it has formulated³ and the new propositions for publications that it has examined.

The departmental committees, naturally, do not manifest an equal degree of activity everywhere, but, on the whole, those which do good work are sufficiently numerous. Ordinarily, they hold four or five meetings a year. They organize documentary investigations, which their correspondents are to carry on; formulate projects for publications, which they transmit to the central commission; and receive communications relative to the local questions of the economic history of the Revolution. Several of these committees, thanks to voluntary contributions or to subventions made by the commission or by the general councils, have instituted periodical bulletins which have found both contributors and readers.

The programme of subjects to be investigated by the commission was the occasion of much discussion during the first year. As finally determined, it comprised the following:

Economic and industrial condition of France in 1789, especially as shown in the *cahiers* of the parishes, of corporations, etc. Professional associations and trades-unions. Liquidation of the arts and crafts associations. Feudal rights; their persistence and gradual abolition. Inventory of nationalized property (property of the Church and property of the *émigrés*), assets and liabilities; sale of such property; *assignats* and *billets de confiance*. Condition and changes in modes of production and exchange. Agriculture. Manufacturing and mining. Domestic and foreign commerce; custom-duties; privileged companies. Progress in industrial and agricultural appliances and technical processes. Payment of taxes during the Revolution. Subsistence: the maximum. Control and division of communal property. Movement of population in city and country. Enforcement and economic effect of the laws of the revolutionary period respecting the transmission of landed estates and the system of mortgages. Values and variations in wages and salaries. Unions. Measures of assistance.

member of the Comité des Travaux Historiques; P. Caron and Charles Schmidt, of the National Archives; E. Dejean, director of archives; Charles Seignobos, professor in the University of Paris. M. Aulard is the president and M. Caron the secretary.

³ These instructions are published in a *Bulletin Trimestriel* which has been issued since the beginning of 1906, and which contains, in addition to complete information in regard to the work of the commission and of the departmental committees, documents and original articles.

For its publications the commission has adopted a convenient octavo *format*. The printing has been done either at local establishments or at the National Printing Office in Paris. The volumes, whatever their size (often they exceed 800 pages), are sold at the very moderate price of seven francs, fifty centimes each. Many copies are distributed free of charge to scientific institutions. The commission enjoys an annual appropriation which was at first fixed at 50,000 francs, but, in 1906, was increased to 60,000 francs, and still remains at that figure. Every publication is supervised by a responsible manager selected from among the members of the commission.

As soon as the details of organization and administration were settled, the commission applied itself to determining the categories, the contents and the arrangement of the various series. At this point the difficulties began. The documents to be published formed an immense mass, scattered among a number of depositories, such as the national archives, the departmental archives, the communal archives, libraries, offices of judicial records, etc., and there was no general inventory of them. Moreover, there were no general works on the economic history of the Revolution of such a sort as to make it easy to state with security its chief problems; there were few, if any, previous publications that could be taken as models. Everything or nearly everything had to be originated. All this gave rise to inevitable groping and delay.

Of all the undertakings that which seemed the simplest was the publishing of the *cahiers* of the parishes—so valuable for an understanding of the economic conditions of the country districts in 1789. Fortunately, we had already the large collection edited by M. Brette,⁴ relating to the convocation of the States-General; and numerous *cahiers* published prior to 1904, however imperfect they might be, made it possible to determine speedily the method to be followed. The unit chosen for this first category was the *bailliage*—that is to say, the unit of convocation in 1789; and all discoverable *cahiers de doléances* (at least, all that could be found), drawn up by parishes belonging in 1789 to the same *bailliage*, were gathered into one collection. On this plan the first publication of the commission was constructed—the *cahiers* from parishes of the *bailliage* of Orléans, edited by M. Camille Bloch.

For the publication of documents relating to another very important question, that of the sale of nationalized property and its social

⁴ *Recueil de Documents relatifs à la Convocation des États Généraux en 1789*, 3 volumes octavo and an atlas (Paris, 1894–1904). The fourth and last volume is in preparation.

and economic results, the commission at first thought that the department could be taken as the unit, but it very soon became apparent that this unit was too large, so that the investigation could not be thoroughly prosecuted. Then the unit was reduced to the district, that is, to a division of a department (between 1790 and 1795 each department contained on an average five or six districts). Of all the questions studied by the commission, none has been more difficult to handle than this; it required two years' hard work, and definite instructions could not be given to the editors until a few weeks ago.

Meanwhile, the commission had taken up other parts of its programme. The importance of the question of grain-supplies during the Revolution is well known; the trade in grain was the subject of a circular of instructions issued in 1907. The documents relating to this will be published according to districts and the first collection (devoted to the district of Chaumont-en-Bassigny) will be issued in 1908. Very recently, new instructions were drawn up relative to the editing of documents concerning agriculture. These will be published by departments. At present the commission is engaged upon the subjects of manufactures, commerce and measures of public assistance. The remaining topics will be taken up later.

The publications of the commission, then, as they continue to be issued, will form several large parallel series: collections of the *cahiers* of the parishes, collections relating to the sale of nationalized property, collections dealing with the grain-trade, and so on. Each series begins with the instructions issued by the commission, followed by a collection of texts of general bearing (laws, decrees, resolutions, circulars) and an account of the administrative organs charged with the application of the laws; then comes a series of departmental collections which will make it possible for historians to trace in detail the effect of the great economic measures taken during the Revolution. Besides these, the commission has planned and commenced the publication of collections of documents preserved at Paris which have to do with France as a whole, such as the reports of the committees on agriculture and commerce of the assemblies of the Revolution, published by MM. Gerbaux and Schmidt, the collection made by MM. Sagnac and Caron relating to the abolition of the seigneurial régime and that of M. G. Bourgin upon the division of communal property.

It is essential to note that the commission very soon recognized that, if it could not employ the same territorial unit in all its collections, neither could it systematically employ the traditional scheme of chronological limits used in political history. The dates 1789 and

the year VIII. usually mark the limits of the revolutionary era ; but these do not necessarily correspond to the decisive moments in economic development. According to the subjects treated in these collections, it is necessary to have an earlier starting point than 1789 or to stop short of the year VIII. or to proceed beyond that date. Thus, for the collection upon the grain-trade, the period studied extends from 1788 to the year V. For the series pertaining to manufactures, the initial date will also be 1788, the year of the reorganization of the Bureau of Commerce, but the date chosen for the conclusion will be 1802 at the very earliest and may be deferred to 1806. The collections which relate to the sale of nationalized property ought to extend still farther, to the Restoration, and to include the enforcement of the law of 1825 (concerning the indemnities to the *émigrés*), which marks the close of this great transaction.

In respect to the technicalities of publication, the commission has adopted the rules that the French editors of modern historical texts agree, with some exceptions, in following. It was deemed useless to retain fantastic peculiarities of the original spelling which, whatever may be said of them, are of no more interest from the philological point of view than from the historical, and, if they were preserved, would only result in rendering certain volumes unreadable. Modern punctuation has been employed, according to the sense. The introductions and annotations are concise and are intended only to facilitate the use of the volumes and to lessen the difficulties of the text. To develop the instructive relations between the data, to engage in the work of synthesis, is the function of historians. Far more important is it that the editors give their attention to sifting in some way the innumerable documents to be published (except in the case of the collections of *cahiers*), so as to retain nothing but the essential and to omit whatever lacks interest. Publication without selection is impossible, and, moreover, in no wise necessary. Furthermore, the commission prescribed, in the case of all matters that are of secondary importance or of interest only in part, the liberal use of those methods of summary, citation or reference, that will become more and more general in the editing of archive-documents in the domain of modern history. "A certain number of well-chosen examples, and general conspectuses, ought to form the substance of the collections", say the instructions for the publications relating to the grain-trade.

The actual statistics of publication are as follows: out of some sixty proposals submitted to the commission, thirty-two were adopted. These thirty-two publications are to form about forty-five volumes,

of which twenty have been issued and eight are in press to come out during the current year. Of these twenty-eight volumes, fourteen are occupied with the *cahiers* of parishes,⁵ two treat of the nationalized property⁶ and twelve of various subjects.⁷

These figures bear witness to a remarkable activity, and the commission has a right to feel that in three years it has accomplished much. Yet the way in which the work has been planned and is being executed has not failed to arouse certain criticisms, of which some words may be said in closing.⁸

One charge brought against the commission is that it publishes too many documents and not enough original studies—a charge rather amusing when directed against a commission which owes its existence to an act expressly stipulating that its work should be the collecting and publishing of documents. Is it alleged that, in general, the editing of archive-documents belonging to the modern period is of little value? This paradox can be sustained, like so many others. But the truth is that these publications of the commission are destined to render the greatest services: they place the fundamental texts at the disposition of all workers and not merely

⁵ *Cahiers* from the *bailliages* or *sénéchaussées* of Angoulême and Cognac, Orléans, Marseilles, the Cotentin, Châlons-sur-Marne, Vic (in Lorraine), Nîmes, Blois and Romorantin, Cahors, Sens.

⁶ In the departments of the Rhone and of Bouches-du-Rhone.

⁷ *Procès-verbaux des Comités d'Agriculture et de Commerce des Assemblées de la Révolution*, edited by F. Gerbaux and Ch. Schmidt (2 vols.); *Les Comités de Droits Féodaux et de Législation et l'Abolition du Régime Seigneurial* (1789-1792), documents edited by MM. Sagnac and Caron; *Le Partage des Communaux, Documents sur la Préparation et l'Application de la Loi du 14 août 1792*, edited by G. Bourgin; *Réponses de Paroisses de l'Élection de Gap au Questionnaire envoyé, le 28 février 1789, par la Commission Intermédiaire des États du Dauphiné*, edited by Abbé Guillaume; *Documents d'Ordre Économique contenus dans les Registres de Délibérations des Municipalités du District d'Alençon, de 1788 à l'an VIII.*, edited by F. Mourlot (2 vols.); *Documents relatifs au Commerce des Céréales, de 1788 à l'an V., dans le District de Chaumont (Haute-Marne)*, edited by Abbé Lorain; *Documents relatifs à l'Abolition du Régime Seigneurial en Savoie avant et pendant la Révolution*, edited by M. Bruchet; *Tableaux de Dépréciation du Papier-monnaie*, reprinted by P. Caron; *Recueil de Textes Législatifs et Administratifs sur les Domaines Nationaux*, edited by P. Caron and E. Deprez.

⁸ In order to estimate correctly the value of these criticisms, it is necessary to remember that French specialists in modern history are at present divided into two camps according to their political opinions: historians of the Right and of the Left. The enterprise of the commission, owing its origin to the initiative of one of the leaders of the Socialist party, and directed by historians known to be of democratic tendencies, is an undertaking of the Left, and, *a priori*, the historians of the Right are hostile to it. With reference to this regrettable division of French historians into adverse parties, I take the liberty of referring to an article which I published in 1905 in the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* (XI. 261), under the title: *Des Conditions Actuelles du Travail d'Histoire Moderne en France*.

of some; they reveal, better than all the original studies in the world could have done, the importance of documents hitherto unknown, the value, for example, of the reports of the committees on agriculture and commerce; finally, the publishing of the *cahiers* of parishes, the researches in the archives of even the smallest communes, will certainly do more than all official circulars to insure the safety of documents of great interest, which are too often exposed to the ravages of time and the carelessness of men, and the destruction of which had been going on slowly for a century.

Again, it is said that the publications of the commission, for example the collections of the *cahiers*, do not present a perfect uniformity; and this has been remarked upon acrimoniously. It is undeniable that in the early volumes of the *cahiers* there may be noticed some trifling differences in procedure. This slight variation was inevitable in the period of inception; the method to be followed could take final form only after a series of experiments. But to expect that absolutely perfect uniformity can ever be realized is purely chimerical. In the first place, the documents stand in the way of this, as they frequently differ according to the locality whence they proceed. In the second place, among the editors there will always be differing degrees of carefulness, of information, of ability. This disadvantage is inherent in all co-operative enterprises, yet co-operative enterprises are on the increase in the domain of historical study. What ought to be required of such enterprises is an average product. The commission endeavored to take into account everything: exigencies of scientific work, material possibilities of execution, capacities of available investigators, etc. It concluded that the best that could be done was to produce clear, well-composed collections, supplied with good indexes and with the critical apparatus necessary and sufficient to facilitate the use of the printed volumes. When the collaborators are men of exceptional ability, the commission grants them liberty equally exceptional, and makes no effort to deprive itself of the benefit of their learning and their enthusiasm. But it always has been and still is the desire of the commission that the publications be of good average value and, as cannot be too often repeated, that they conform to the principles generally followed to-day in the editing of modern archive-documents.

A work of this kind ought to be judged by its results. It is certain that as a result of the influence of the commission considerable progress promises to be accomplished within a few years.

Already attention is being directed to those economic and social questions, too long neglected by historians yet nevertheless of capital importance to an understanding of political history, especially of that of the French Revolution. Where learned societies of the old type were wont to slumber, the departmental committees have gathered together workers animated by a more modern spirit; at last, the general inventory of the archives of the Revolution has been commenced;⁹ the circulars from the central commission to the departmental committees and those from the committees to their correspondents have helped to hasten the general diffusion of knowledge in regard to historical methods. Even now, it is safe to say that the undertaking entrusted to the commission will in time be regarded as the most remarkable effort of French historical science at the beginning of the twentieth century. As such, it deserves to be brought to the especial attention of American historians.

PIERRE CARON.

⁹The Administration of Archives has recently begun the publication of a general inventory of the principal series of documents of the Revolution preserved in the departments.

MATERIAL FOR SOUTHWESTERN HISTORY IN THE CENTRAL ARCHIVES OF MEXICO¹

WHEN we consider the close historical relations between Mexico and what we call the "Southwest", the chief cause for surprise, as regards the Mexican archives, is not that they contain much material for Southwestern history, but rather that this material has been so little used.

In an endeavor to present in brief space a general idea of the sources of this class contained in the central archives at the City of Mexico, not touching for the present upon provincial, ecclesiastical or private collections, it seems best to attempt no more than to name the principal repositories and to describe their contents in so far as they will admit of general description. I can treat even in this general way only a part of the field, and have chosen, therefore, disregarding the demands of proportion, to devote most of my space to sources for early Southwestern history, closing with the merest hint of what there may be for recent periods. Incidentally I shall try to indicate some of the conditions of investigation in Mexico.

The central government archives proper consist of an Archivo General y Público de la Nación, commonly called the Archivo General, and of separate archives for each of the great secretariats or executive departments of the national government. To these should be added the manuscript collections in the Museo Nacional and the Biblioteca Nacional. Most of the manuscripts in the

¹ This paper may be regarded as a preliminary report upon a comprehensive survey of the materials for United States history in Mexican archives which the writer has undertaken on behalf of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. A fuller report in the form of a volume published by that institution may be expected at a later time.

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archives of the secretariats bear dates subsequent to the Mexican War of Independence, since which event these departments have been established; and, on the other hand, by far the larger part of those in the other collections named relate to the period of the Spanish régime. This clear differentiation of the archives reinforces the historical reasons for choosing the close of that régime, 1821, as the point of division between early and recent Southwestern history. I write mainly, therefore, of sources for the period before 1821.

It follows from what has already been said that the public collections at the capital of special importance for early history are those in the Archivo General, the Museo Nacional and the Biblioteca Nacional. By far the most important of these is the first, which, indeed, is the largest and richest collection of historical material in Mexico. If space would permit, a sketch of the varied and sometimes pathetic history of this archive would be instructive. Since this is impossible, suffice it to say that the idea of founding it originated in 1790 with the Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, and that it was established by the Republic in 1823, having for its basis the archive of the Secretariat of the Viceroys,² which still constitutes its most important single element. In this connection let it be noted that there is little ground, unless it be an unwarranted faith that in olden times all decrees of Spanish kings were executed, for Bancroft's remark that in the Archivo General are preserved great quantities of material "collected from all parts of the country by order of Carlos IV."³ Quite to the contrary, it appears after much study directed to this point, that, in spite of this and later orders to the same effect, provincial collections have not been drawn upon to any considerable extent in the formation of the Archivo General.

² A brief printed sketch of the Archivo General by Manuel Rivera Cámbar is in *México Pintoresco, Artístico y Monumental* (Mexico, 1880), I. 16-17; one by Ignacio Rayón is in *Diccionario Universal de Historia y de Geografía* (Mexico, 1854), V. 978-983; a still briefer sketch by Professor George P. Garrison is in *The Nation*, May 30, 1901. None of these articles gives a satisfactory account of the origin and elements of the archive. Original correspondence relative to the first attempt to found it is contained in volume 267 of Sección de Historia, Archivo General. This volume is entitled "Archivo General, Su Establecimiento en Chapultepec, 1788-1819". For data on this subject see also the files of correspondence in the sections of the Archivo General named Reales Cédulas y Ordenes, and Correspondencia de los Virreyes. Valuable manuscript reports by different *archiveros* on the contents and condition of the archive of the Viceroy's Secretariat at the end of the Spanish régime and on the Archivo General y Público since its foundation in 1823, are contained in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, section Archivo General. Similar matter is contained in several memorials to the Mexican Congress by the different secretaries of the Department of Relations.

³ Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 21.

This fact is significant, for it offers the prospect that in certain of the local archives there may yet be found important stores of material. While, as has been said, the larger part of the collection in the Archivo General relates to the period before 1821, only a small part of that which does not is of importance for the history of the United States.

This archive is under the supervision of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, and permission to work in it is secured, by foreigners, from that department. It is housed in the southwestern portion of the vast building known as the Palacio Nacional, in rooms adjacent to those formerly occupied by the Secretariat of the Viceroy—quarters that are altogether inadequate for present needs. In summer it is usually open from 7:30 a. m. to 1:30 p. m., and in winter from 8:00 a. m. to 1:30 p. m. To those who are properly introduced, wide liberties are given to search among the volumes and *legajos*. Indeed, if this were not the case, little progress could be made under present circumstances.

The collection, which consists of some thirty-five thousand bound volumes of manuscripts and bundles enough to form at least as many more, is, besides being large, extremely miscellaneous, and therefore difficult to describe in general terms. Enough material to form perhaps twenty thousand volumes is piled ceiling-high in a board crib in the middle of the main hall, and, though partly classified and bound, is at present almost inaccessible. Difficulties of research are increased through lack of a catalogue, either printed or unprinted.*

The archive is divided into sections, the basis of division being subjects rather than the offices from which the papers have emanated. The general arrangement of these sections is chronological, with dates on the backs or title-pages of the volumes or on the labels of the *legajos*. This arrangement greatly facilitates investigation but it is frequently violated, and the dates cannot always be relied upon. Many of the volumes—in some cases entire sections—have tables of contents, called *índices*. These, when well made, which is by no means always the case, enable one readily to ascertain the general nature of the contents of a volume.

Seven sections, in particular, of the Archivo General have great importance for the early history of the Southwest. The two most

* Material for the formation of a catalogue is gradually being accumulated by the archive force, but the prospects for a speedy completion of it are not good, unless the force be materially increased. There are, it is true, some special *índices* for official use but they are too general to be of much service for historical investigation.

systematically arranged and at the same time the most generally useful are those containing the royal *cédulas* and orders to the viceroys and the communications of the viceroys to the court of Spain.⁵ These two sections, taken together, form the best single documentary guide to the history of a given province, as well as to the general administrative history of New Spain, for most matters of importance became the subjects of correspondence between the viceroys and the court. The compilation of these series in their present form was begun about 1773 by Peramás, the viceroy's secretary. During his long term the arranging of current documents was kept up, and when, after an interval, Antonio Bonilla became secretary, he went back and arranged apparently all of the materials of these and some other classes that he could find. The documents are filed in chronological order, and the volumes have, besides tables of contents, alphabetical *prontuarios* or brief subject-indexes, which, in general, are very well made.

Of the royal *cédulas* and orders there are two series. The first, of 243 bound volumes, contains the originals or principals of *cédulas* and orders directed to the viceroys. The second, of 176 volumes, is very miscellaneous and fragmentary but it contains, besides extraneous matter, (a) principals of *cédulas* and orders directed to the *audiencia* of Mexico, (b) duplicates of some of those sent to the viceroys and (c) *libros de asiento* or record-books, in which *cédulas* and orders of both classes are copied.

The first series, which is by far the more important from our present viewpoint, covers the period from 1609 to 1821, being fairly complete after 1643. These royal communications deal with every conceivable kind of subject. In the *prontuarios* the headings Californias, New Mexico, Texas, Louisiana and Provincias Internas occupy a prominent place, and, taken together with such headings as explorations, colonization, missions, *presidios*, Indians, defense, foreigners and appointments, guide the way to much of the early history of the Southwest.

Besides the *cédulas* and orders that are filed in this regular series, a good many principals are to be found in other places, with papers to which they are directly related. Of duplicates, separate series have been formed for the history of the Provincias Internas for the period between 1750 and 1793, and for the history of the expulsion of the Jesuits. For these excellent and useful compila-

⁵ They are named respectively, Reales Cédulas y Órdenes, and Correspondencia de los Virreyes. These titles are obviously too broad, for besides these there are other royal *cédulas* and orders and other classes of viceroys' correspondence.

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tions we have to thank that best of viceroy's secretaries, Antonio Bonilla, or, perhaps, his master with the organizing genius, the Viceroy Revilla Gigedo. The former compilation consists of five large volumes, until recently scattered and forgotten, among the volumes of the second series of royal *cédulas* and orders mentioned, but now reunited.⁶ In them the *indices* cite separately the documents relating to the Provincias Internas as a whole, and likewise those for each of the provinces of New Mexico, Texas, Nuevo Santander, Nuevo León, Nueva Viscaya, Coahuila, Sonora and Sinaloa.⁷ For the period covered, the five volumes are of inestimable value, and their tables of contents are deserving of publication entire, as a partial bibliography.⁸ The compilation of *cédulas* concerning the expulsion of the Jesuits is still scattered. Volumes I. and II. have recently been brought together from different parts of the Archivo General, while III. and IV. are in the Biblioteca Nacional.⁹

The regular file of communications from the viceroys to the court of Spain does not begin, unfortunately, until 1755, in the administration of the Marqués de las Amarillas.¹⁰ From that time to 1821 they fill 244 volumes. They are arranged in three series, which, by the way, have no discoverable distinction.¹¹ These letters and reports of the viceroys, found here in the form of minutes or of copies, according to the care of the secretaries, are even more important than the royal *cédulas* and orders, for they not only present the cisatlantic viewpoint, but, being based upon detailed

⁶ Besides containing this compilation relating to the Provincias Internas, the second series of *cédulas* supplements the first in two other ways. First, the *libros de asiento* contain documents as early as 1585, and second, in this collection there are *cédulas* and orders directed to the *audiencias*. The arrangement of the series is so very bad, however, that to use it would be difficult.

⁷ The title of the series is "Colección de Reales Órdenes y Cédulas Duplicadas sobre Provincias Ynternas".

⁸ In the *indices* reference is made in each case to the series of principals, and, even if a duplicate is lacking, the principal is cited.

⁹ The title of the first volume is "Colección de Reales Ordenes, y Cédulas Sobre Expatriación de los Regulares de la Comp^a. de Jesus, y demas Asuntos Relativas, Dirigidas al Exmo. S^o. Virrey Marqués de Croix en los Años de 1767, 68, 69, y 70". The titles of the other volumes vary slightly from this. The series, or at least a part of it, will be listed in the forthcoming catalogue of books on jurisprudence issued by the Biblioteca.

¹⁰ The Secretariat of the Viceroys was, in its origin, only a private office. Its first official corps of three was organized in 1757. This explains, perhaps, why the file of viceroys' correspondence begins no earlier. See Juan de Dios Uribe, "Informe pedido por un apunte", etc., in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, Sección de Archivo General, *caxa* 1823-1827.

¹¹ Each of the three series contains the three main classes of correspondence, namely, that sent *por via reservada*, through the secretary of the Universal Office of Marine and Indies; that sent through the Council of the Indies; and that addressed to the different department secretaries.

reports from provincial governors, missionaries and other local authorities, they are nearer than the royal *cédulas* to the spirit of provincial affairs. For certain periods it was customary to file with the minutes of correspondence the originals or copies of documents that were transmitted to Spain. Would that this had been a constant practice! Of special value on the Southwest are the monthly extracts from the local reports of affairs in the Californias and the Provincias Internas which were more or less regularly sent by the viceroy to the king during the period between 1770 and 1777.¹²

After the establishment in 1777 of the commandancy-general at Chihuahua, practically independent of the viceroy, the latter official's correspondence suddenly lessens in value for the Southwest. From that time forth we shall have to look to Spain or to the remains of the archive of the commandancy-general for some of the most important correspondence relative to the Provincias Internas.

As a companion to the compilation of duplicate royal *cédulas* and orders concerning the expulsion of the Jesuits, Bonilla formed a similar one of the letters of the viceroys to the court of Spain relative to the same subject. This series has strayed to the Biblioteca Nacional.¹³

Scarcely less valuable than the two series just described, but, because of their miscellaneous character, infinitely more difficult to treat satisfactorily in brief space, are the sections called Historia, Provincias Internas, Californias and Misiones. These together comprise about nine hundred volumes, of whose contents perhaps one-half relates to territory that is within the United States.

The nucleus of the history section is the thirty-two volume series of "*Memorias de Nueva España*", compiled in 1791-1792 by Fray Francisco García Figueroa, at the order of the king and under the direction of the viceroy.¹⁴ These volumes are composed

¹² A considerable portion of these *noticias* of Texas, Louisiana and New Mexico are copied in the Talamantes-Pichardo Papers contained in volumes 298 and 299 of Sección de Historia, Archivo General.

¹³ I cannot say that the three volumes preserved there form the complete series; indeed, apparently they do not, although they are numbered consecutively, one, two and three. The main title of the first is "*Libro 1º. de Cartas Escritas al Ex^{mo}. S^{or}. Conde de Aranda*". The titles of the others vary slightly from this.

¹⁴ For a brief statement of the circumstances of their compilation, see the article by Professor Garrison, cited above, page 511, note 2. For a fuller statement, see a report dated July 27, 1853, by the noted Mexican scholar, Manuel Orosco y Berra, in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, Sección de México, *casa* 1849-1853. The occasion of this report was the offer for sale in New York, by a Spanish editor, of what purported to be the original of volume I. of the "*Memorias*", together with what was called the original manuscript of Morfi's history of Texas. Since volume I. of the "*Memorias*" was

of copies of documents of great general importance—the *monumenta*, so to speak—for the history of New Spain down to the time of their compilation. Since they are relatively well-known, they need no mention here further than to say that of their number four are devoted to New Mexico, two to Upper California, two to Texas and as many more to territory just on the other side of the border and closely associated with the United States frontier. To this nucleus there have been added from time to time about five hundred volumes, mainly of original documents, dealing with various parts of New Spain.¹⁵ The section of Provincias Internas, comprising 264 volumes, is so called because it relates primarily to the northern provinces. A considerable part of the papers contained in it emanated from the division of the Viceroy's Secretariat devoted especially to the administration of these provinces. Technically, the Provincias Internas did not include the Californias, Louisiana or Florida, but there is in the section a good deal of matter relative to the first two. It contains also, for obvious reasons, a great deal of material concerning San Blas and the Philippine Islands. Probably the most distinctive class of material in this section is the correspondence of the viceroy with the commandant-general of the Provincias Internas (or, when the commandancy was divided, with the commandants of the eastern and the western provinces) and with the provincial governors. Such material, however, is not lacking from the other series. The section of Californias contains nearly all kinds of matter for Antigua and Nueva California, some of it dating nearly to the time of the American occupation, besides considerable matter for New Mexico and Texas. The section of Misiones is confined largely to the relations of missions with the central secular authorities, but it covers all New Spain.

For present purposes these four sections may be considered together, for, aside from such differences of emphasis as have been indicated, their contents are similar and overlap in a thousand places. It is in these sections especially that one must look for a large part of the important correspondence of the viceroys with the local then lacking from the set in the Archivo General, the government contemplated purchasing the one advertised, believing that it was the identical volume that had been lost. The missing volume was replaced in 1882 by a copy made in Spain. (See correspondence in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, Sección de Archivo General, under the dates given.) Its loss cannot be charged, in the customary way, to the vandalism of the American army that occupied the city in 1847, for Cubas's report of 1824 notes the absence of the volume. This is not intended, however, as a denial that the American army carried off some documents from the Mexican archives, for there is good evidence that they did so.

¹⁵ There are at present date, December 5, 1907, 530 volumes in the section.

authorities. But, instead of being made up of chronological or otherwise systematic files of correspondence between certain offices, the volumes are, for the most part, collections of *expedientes*, an *expediente* being a group of papers relating to a single subject. In these *expedientes* records of local procedure and correspondence are brought together and joined to the records of related procedure in Mexico or even in Spain. The result is that a single *expediente* may contain all of the documents necessary for tracing the history of a given matter from beginning to end. Such correspondence as could not be fitted into *expedientes* is scattered through the series in a very miscellaneous way, with here and there well unified groups.

Contained in these *expedientes* or existing separately, as the case may be, there are found several general classes of material for the history of the provinces that constituted what is now the Southwest. Some of the most important are the following: (1) diaries of exploring expeditions or other *entradas* into the north country; (2) *autos* of the founding of missions and other settlements; (3) correspondence of the viceroys with the governors, missionaries and other local authorities; (4) correspondence of the viceroys with the commandant-general or, when the jurisdiction of this official was divided, with the commandants of the eastern and western Internal Provinces; (5) *autos* of the *residencias* of governors and of other special investigations into local administration. Besides these and perhaps other classes, there are countless *expedientes* concerning special subjects. These kinds of material are found, in general, for all of the northern provinces except Florida and Louisiana, to the end of the Spanish régime, though it would be impossible, perhaps, to find a complete file of any one class of material for any single province.

In the four sections under consideration are the originals, which will never lose their value, of a large part of the documents copied in the "Memorias de Nueva España", as well of course as of thousands of others. This is not true to any great extent in cases where the documents were copied from the provincial or ecclesiastical archives, for, as has already been said, these collections have not to any considerable degree found their way into the Archivo General.¹⁶ In view of the gigantic work of collecting done by H. H. Bancroft and of the impression abroad that he may have got all there is to be had, it is in point to remark here that it

¹⁶ Notable exceptions to the last assertion are the 1,200 or 1,300 volumes of papers from the Inquisition archives, and the Jesuit records contained in the Misiones section.

appears that he copied little or nothing in the Archivo General, and that therefore he used few or none of the originals which I mention. This is said, not with any thought of disparagement of the great feat of collecting accomplished by Bancroft, but, quite to the contrary, to choose the most pointed way of illustrating the value of the yet unconquered worlds of material in this storehouse.

A large portion of the correspondence of the viceroys with the military chiefs during the Mexican War of Independence (1810-1821) is filed in the extensive section¹⁷ called *Historia: Operaciones de Guerra*, which is the seventh of the sections which have been mentioned as being of primary importance from our present standpoint. In it there are three groups of correspondence that deserve especial mention, even in so general a sketch as this. (1) That of the viceroy with Manuel de Salcedo, governor of Texas, from 1809 to 1813, is highly valuable for the affairs of the Texas-Louisiana frontier, including the first stage of the Gutierrez-Magee expedition.¹⁸ (2) For both the early and the later stages of this episode, as well as for the Mina expedition and other notable doings of the period from 1811 to 1821, there is much of value in the correspondence of Arredondo, commandant of the eastern Internal Provinces.¹⁹ Among the papers in this correspondence is the original report of the bloody battle of the Medina, of August 18, 1813. (3) In the same section is a four-volume series called "*Notas Diplomáticas*", which contains, primarily, diplomatic and consular correspondence concerning the United States for the period between 1809 and 1821. Some of the subjects of interest in it are the later doings of Bernardo de Gutierrez and Toledo, the Mina expedition, Lallemand, Aury, and James Long.²⁰ In volume IV. of this series the chief subjects of correspondence are a rumored plan

¹⁷ It contains 750 or 800 volumes. Technically, it is a part of *Sección de Historia*, but it is not so treated in practice and may be considered as a separate section.

¹⁸ An excellent calendar of these papers, prepared by Mr. E. W. Winkler, is contained in the *Thirty-First Annual Report* of the Commissioner of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics and History of the State of Texas, part II., 1906. They were used by Dr. W. F. McCaleb in the preparation of his article on the "First Period of the Gutierrez-Magee Expedition", which appeared in the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, IV. 218-230. Dr. McCaleb evidently missed the Arredondo correspondence in the same section, mentioned below.

¹⁹ Volume I. (*Operaciones de Guerra*, 56) contains correspondence for 1811-1816; II. (*O. de G.*, 57) for 1811-1820, but mainly for 1811-1812; III. (*O. de G.*, 58) for 1812-1813; IV. (*O. de G.*, 59) for 1813-1820.

²⁰ I may mention here, somewhat out of order, the bundle of documents in the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations which deal with the capture and imprisonment of Long and his men. They are in *Sección de Asuntos Internacionales*, *caxa* 1817-1824. The bundle contains a number of papers taken from Long after his capture.

of Americans to invade New Mexico in 1818-1819, and corresponding plans of the Spanish government to defend that province. Taken together these three groups of documents contain much of value for the restless period of southwestward migration and of filibustering projects directed toward the Southwest between 1810 and 1821. But it must not be inferred that, because other documents on this period have not been specifically mentioned, there are no others. As a matter of fact, a great many are contained in the volumes which I have been able to describe in general terms.

The large section of Tierras probably contains a great deal of matter relative to land grants within the southwestern part of the United States, as well as sources of a wider historical bearing, but the restrictions placed upon its use are such as to have made it thus far impossible for me to consult it. Were its contents known to historical investigators, it is not improbable that this section would take rank in importance with those described above.

Besides these seven (or eight) sections of first importance, there is a larger number that contain either (a) a smaller amount or only occasional matter of direct bearing on the Southwest or (b) data for studying the Spanish provincial administrative system in general.

Of the first class are to be noted the sections or series of Marina, Oficio de Soria, Obras Públicas, Inquisición, Impresos Oficiales, Bandos, Ordenanzas, Real Caxa and Yndiferente de Guerra. Sección de Marina, which comprises two hundred or three hundred volumes, contains, primarily, reports of marine and port officials, including sometimes consuls in foreign countries, especially those in New Orleans, to the viceroys, and after the revolution to the Department of Marine. In them matters of commerce occupy first place. Concerning this subject there are reports of entry and clearance of vessels, ship-registers, port and fair regulations and much matter relative to the conduct of the Philippine trade. Filed with such documents concerning legitimate commerce, there are many reports of contraband or otherwise illegal trade in Mexican ports. In both the legitimate and the illegal trade American vessels figure prominently at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. The volumes of this section which are marked San Blas contain much matter relative to the movement of vessels up and down the Pacific coast. Mixed with these commercial affairs are a good many documents of political and military bearing, several of them touching the eighteenth-century history of Florida. One volume of the series called Oficio de Soria also contains

several reports, like those mentioned above, concerning illegal trade by American vessels (1809-1811). In addition the series contains a few papers that relate to the eighteenth-century history of New Mexico and Texas. The sections of *Impresos Oficiales*, *Ordenanzas*, and *Bandos*, supplement other files by containing many *cédulas*, viceroys' decrees, ordinances and other documents that were of such general bearing as to be given a circular character. In *Obras Públicas* there are occasional *expedientes* of interest to us concerning the construction of public works. For example, in the first volume there is one relative to the erection of the *presidio* and other public buildings at San Francisco in 1778. The 1,200 or 1,300 volumes of papers from the archives of the Inquisition contain a little matter of specific bearing on the Southwest. Probably most of it, except what may relate to California, is listed in the report prepared in 1807 for the Louisiana Boundary Commission by Torrecilla and DeNáxera, secretaries of the Holy Office. This report is in volume 301 of the history section. In the volumes of *Real Caxa* devoted to the jurisdiction of Chihuahua are to be found documents dealing with the finances of the provinces comprised in *Provincias Internas*.²¹

Some thirty-five sections or series not technically called sections, forming a large part of the bulk of the archive, while of great value for the history of the interior of Mexico, are of interest from our present viewpoint mainly as illustrating the Spanish provincial administration in general. The names of most of them are given in a foot-note.²² I have not been able to examine every one of these sections volume by volume, and it may be that they contain occasional documents of direct bearing on the United States, but the aggregate amount of such is evidently not large. It must be remembered that the value for the Southwest of documents of such

²¹ It would seem that the sections of *Intendencias*, *Sublegados*, *Ayuntamientos* and *Alcaldes Mayores*, which are composed of the correspondence of the viceroys with or about these administrative agencies, should contain matter of direct bearing on the Southwest, but so far as I have been able to examine them—the volumes are in a large measure inaccessible at present—I have found nothing of this character.

²² The series entitled: *Indios*, *Encomiendas*, *Clero Regular*, *Clero Secular*, *Bienes de Comunidad*, *Temporalidades*, *Templos y Conventos*, *Cofradías y Archicofradías*, *Matrimonios*, *Registro de Fianzas*, *Real Fisco*, *Salinas*, *Minería*, *Informes de Fonseca y Urrutia*, *Real Audiencia*, *Real Acuerdo*, *Civil*, *Intestados* and *Infidencias*, are accessible. The following, which are of similar value, and perhaps others, are in the crib mentioned formerly and are only partly accessible at present: *Judicial*, *Tribunal de la Acordada*, *Arzobispo y Obispos*, *Media Annata*, *Bula de Santa Cruzada*, *Real Armada*, *Artillería*, *Presidarios*, *Comisaría General*, *Casa de Moneda*, *Tesorerías*, *Hacienda*, *Tribunal del Consulado*, *Aduanas*, *Alcabalas*, *Peages*, *Renta de Tabaco* and *Fabrica de Pólvora*.

a character is greatly lessened by the fact that the Spanish administrative system reached the distant and sparsely settled provinces of the north only in a much modified and greatly attenuated form.

Turning now from the Archivo General, the manuscripts in the Museo Nacional and the Biblioteca Nacional may be designated as special collections, unrelated and fragmentary, that have been acquired as odds and ends in various ways.

The chief materials in the Museo for the history of the Southwest, or, indeed, for any part of the United States, are Franciscan mission papers, of which many are of great value. They are contained primarily in three groups, known as the Lancaster-Jones Collection, the Fischer Collection and the Franciscan Convent Papers. Notable in the first are the four quarto volumes of Franciscan correspondence called "*Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias*". Their contents are mainly original correspondence of missionaries in the field and of various colleges and convents with the central Franciscan authorities. The documents deal largely with Upper California between 1769 and 1800, but touch also New Mexico and Texas. They clearly came from the central Franciscan archives, by what route I cannot say. In the same collection there are two octavo volumes of mission correspondence which have the same title as the quarto series, and whose contents are, to some extent, copies of documents found in the original in that series. In the Fischer Collection there is a volume compiled by Fray Rafael Verger under the title "*Colección y Trasunto de Varios Escritos, Alegatos, Ynformes, Memoriales, y Cartas*". It is a rare set of California mission documents for that most interesting period of beginnings, 1771-1774. The Franciscan Convent Papers contain, besides a large number of administration-books of relatively small value, enough loose papers, mainly correspondence, to form a hundred or more large volumes; but they are so disordered that it would take an expert several months to arrange and describe them properly. They come mainly from the archive of the Franciscan commissary-general of New Spain and from the colleges of San Fernando, San Gregorio and Santo Evangelio. They are much more valuable for the history of missions in Mexico and the Philippines than for those in the United States, but they contain, nevertheless, besides much matter of a general bearing on Franciscan polity, a good deal of specific bearing on the missions of California, New Mexico and Texas.

The recent preparation of a detailed bibliography of materials

in the central public archives of Mexico for the history of Alta California between 1768 and 1785 has demonstrated that these collections in the Museo Nacional, together with some of the sections of the Archivo General, contain an enormous amount of unused material of highest importance for early California history.

Besides these Franciscan documents, the Ramírez Papers deserve mention. These papers, most of which recently came from the library of the late Alfredo Chavero, are documents gathered and autograph essays written by the noted José Fernando Remírez. They deal mainly with ancient Mexico, where his interests were centred, but some of them relate to the United States. Among these is a collection of original "Documentos sobre Gaspar de Villagrà", author of the metrical history of New Mexico, part of them signed in the hand of Oñate; copies of various more or less well-known New Mexico documents; a fragment of a Jesuit *crítica* of the Benavides account of the apparition of the venerable María Jesus de Ágreda; and a forty-three page study of the Comanche nation by Ramírez himself.²³

All of these Museo papers are kept in the library, which is open to the public from 9:30 to 12:30 in the morning and from 3:30 to 6:30 in the afternoon.

The manuscript materials in the Biblioteca Nacional are not many in the aggregate, yet there are a few nuggets about which investigators of special topics would wish to know. Some of these are fragments of series contained in the Archivo General y Público. I have already mentioned part of one and all of another Bonilla compilation relative to the expulsion of the Jesuits. A larger collection is that of about forty bound volumes of documents accumulated as an incident to the administration of *real hacienda* during the eighteenth century. They consist of royal *cédulas*, viceroys' decrees, official reports and *expedientes* concerning the various branches of the royal revenue. In them is to be found a large amount of information concerning the Spanish economic and administrative systems. Many rare pamphlets and some manuscripts are gathered into the various series of "Documentos para la Historia de México" listed in the history division of the library's catalogue. Single manuscript volumes or documents deserving of

²³ Of more interest than importance in this connection are the sixty-odd volumes of original records from the archive of the Inquisition. These are said by Señor Don Luiz González Obregón, who has made a thorough study of them, to be the cream of a much larger collection to which the 1,200 or 1,300 volumes in the Archivo General y Público belong. They seem, however, to contain nothing relating specifically to the United States.

mention are: (1) a copy of Mange's "Luz de Tierra Incógnita", containing at the end Kino's "Relacion Diaria" of his *entrada* into Pimería in 1698 (dated at N. S. de Dolores, December 8, 1698); (2) a copy of Nicolas de la Fora's "Relacion" of his expedition to New Mexico in 1766 in company with the Marqués de Rubí for the purpose of inspecting the northern establishments—an expedition that led to a complete revision of the northern military and missionary frontier; (3) still another Bonilla compilation contained in the Biblioteca is the volume called "Reconocimiento De los quatro establecimientos que el Ymperio Ruso ha formado al Norte de la California". It contains many of the important original documents concerning the Martínez exploration of 1788, including diaries and maps.

Besides the manuscripts listed in the history division of the library's catalogue, others will appear in the forthcoming division of jurisprudence. With few exceptions the manuscripts are kept in the office of the director, and may be examined only with his permission. His office is usually open from 12 m. to 2 p. m. and from 4 to 8 p. m.

As has already been stated, the archives of the active secretariats contain, primarily, materials that bear dates subsequent to the revolution. Nevertheless, occasional groups of earlier documents are to be found in them. I have already referred, in a note,²⁴ to the papers in the Secretariat of Foreign Relations relative to the imprisonment of General James Long. Two other groups in the same archive may be mentioned. One of these consists of part of the papers taken by the Spanish authorities from Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike. The correspondence that accompanies them shows that these papers lay in Chihuahua for twenty years after Pike was relieved of them there in 1807, and that they were then hunted up and sent to the City of Mexico for the use of the Texas-Louisiana Boundary Commission. The list made when they were confiscated shows twenty-one numbered documents. The first eighteen and the last of these are now preserved in the archive named, to which the whole collection was returned by the Boundary Commission in 1828. It is to be deplored that the two missing documents are, perhaps, those of greatest interest—Pike's principal diary and a book containing personal observations and memoranda of his correspondence.²⁵ The other group to which I alluded con-

²⁴ See page 518, note 20.

²⁵ These papers are in *caxa* 1817-1824, Sección de Asuntos Internacionales, in a *carpeta* labelled "Sobre busca y entrega á la Comision de limites de los docu-

sists of a part of the Pichardo Papers. In 1807 Father José Pichardo was appointed by the viceroy to succeed Talamantes, who before his untimely death had worked two years as commissioner to report, through historical investigation, on the true Texas-Louisiana boundary. After five years of additional labor, Pichardo submitted to the viceroy, in February, 1812, a ponderous study of nearly all phases of the history of Texas and of many phases of that of New Mexico and Louisiana. This work has frequently been referred to in Mexican manuscript records and has for some time been sought, by myself, at least, but I doubt if it has been used since Terán returned it in 1828. The report, which is of true Spanish length, filling more than four thousand quarto pages,²⁶ is in the same section as the Pike Papers, together with part of Pichardo's documents. Many other Talamantes-Pichardo documents are in the Archivo General y Público.²⁷ Over a year ago I found in the cartography department of the Secretariat of Fomento the original map made by Pichardo in 1811 to accompany his report, together with the rare original of the La Fora map, made about 1767.²⁸

One of the puzzles that I have not been able to solve is the whereabouts of the many other old maps of different parts of the Southwest that are mentioned in the sources and whose accompanying documents are available. Of course, the originals or copies of many of them were sent to Spain, but it is inconceivable that copies, at least, should not have been kept in Mexico. In fact, in a good many instances we have proof that copies or the originals were kept but where the larger part of them now are is a mystery. A considerable number, it is true, are here and there in the Archivo General and the Biblioteca Nacional. A much larger number are in *carpetas* 2, 3, 11 and 12 of the department of cartography of the Secretariat of Fomento, among them being the Pichardo and La Fora maps already mentioned. But these four boxes contain only the merest fraction of what should be in existence.

mentos q. se tomaron al viagero Paike". Such of them as are historically important and have not been printed heretofore will be published in the next number of this journal.

²⁶ The copy of the report and the accompanying documents which in 1842 were in the hydrographic department of the Secretaria de Gobierno of Spain, filled fifteen volumes. See correspondence of the Mexican Secretary of Foreign Relations with the Minister to Spain, in the same archive, Sección de México, *caxa* 1842-1844.

²⁷ See Bolton, in the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, VII. 210-212.

²⁸ My attention was first called to the collection of old maps in this department by Mr. William Beer of the Howard Memorial Library of New Orleans.

Having spent on the early period nearly all of the space allotted to me and not having completed my investigations, I can only suggest here what there is for later times, a period of greater interest to most of us, perhaps, than the other. Some groups of papers of recent date bearing on the Southwest are contained in the Archivo General and the Biblioteca Nacional, but they cannot be mentioned in the brief résumé which follows.²⁹ In my work I have not proceeded very far with the examination of the department archives, which, as I said, contain most of the records accumulated since 1821; but even now I can pronounce three of them rich in materials for the history of the relations between the United States and Mexico since that date. These three are the secretariats of Foreign Relations, War, and Fomento, or Public Improvements.

The names of these departments indicate their special functions and the general classes of materials which we might expect to find in their archives. In general, the materials of these archives are contained in *legajos* or boxes, which are classified into sections on the basis of subjects treated. So far as I have examined, the most important section of the archive of the Secretariat of War is that of Military Operations. This contains, primarily, correspondence of the Secretary of War with the officers in the field and with other departments of government directly concerned in active operations, principally those of Hacienda and Foreign Relations. In the Secretariat of Foreign Relations there is extensive diplomatic and consular correspondence concerning nearly all exterior political relations; while, so far as I am able to report at present, the most important materials in the Secretariat of Fomento are the old maps and other documents, including old maps, concerning the Anglo-American colonization of the Southwest and industrial concessions to Americans in more recent times. Since two or all of these departments, in many cases, contain documents relating to the same subject, I shall not treat separately each archive, but shall only mention some of the principal topics for which they collectively contain material.

Concerning Anglo-American colonization before the Mexican War there are in the secretariats of Fomento and Foreign Relations hundreds of applications for lands in Texas and other parts of the Southwest; schemes proposed by Mexicans and foreigners to offset Anglo-American aggrandizement by planting in the Southwest

²⁹ It may be noted that all of the records of the general archive of the Secretariat of Justice down to 1886 have recently been sent to the Archivo General.

colonies of Europeans; maps of lands asked for; and records of concessions granted or refused. The mass of documents concerning Anglo-American colonization in Texas alone after 1821, would probably fill fifteen or twenty large volumes. Of greatest single interest among them, perhaps, are the many papers relating to the efforts of Moses and Stephen F. Austin, although the material seems to be relatively full for other leading *empresarios*. One of the colonization projects of considerable antiquarian interest, at least, is that proposed to the Mexican government in 1826 by Robert Owen. His memorial, present in his own handwriting, asks for a concession of all Texas, with guaranteed independence and protection, as a place in which to test on a large scale his favorite plan, which he outlines, of regenerating humanity.

Parallel with the plans for Anglo-American colonies are the fears of Anglo-American aggression, then of revolution in Texas. Giving expression to these fears there are in the secretariats of Foreign Relations and War bewildering quantities of correspondence with local authorities and diplomatic agents. In this connection may be noted the bundle of papers in the Secretariat of War which give the details of the arrest and imprisonment of Stephen F. Austin. For California and New Mexico there are many documents, dated between 1830 and 1840, concerning political disturbances caused, according to the reports, by Americans and factious Spaniards, as well as reports regarding the movements of the Russians. The Oregon migration also calls for the use of much ink and paper.

What appear to be very complete files of correspondence between the Secretary of War and the frontier military authorities from 1830 to 1845 fill about thirty-five *legajos* of some 1,200 pages each. In them are the original reports, not only of the general movements of Americans and Mexicans during this momentous period, but also Mexican reports of the principal military engagements of the Texas War. Notable among the latter, of course, are those of the recapture of San Antonio by the Mexicans, the fall of the Alamo and the defeat of Santa Anna at San Jacinto. I had the unique experience of breaking the seals, in the presence and with the permission of the *archivero*, of packages containing some fifteen personal letters and official orders addressed to Santa Anna about the time of his capture but never delivered because of that event. It is interesting to note, as a reflection of the Mexican view of events, that from 1830 on to 1835 the Texas bundles are marked "The Revolution in Texas", as though the revolution were

already a fact at the earlier date, while those from 1835 to 1845 are marked "The Texas Campaign", as though the war had continued for a decade, instead of ending at San Jacinto, the usual American view. The views expressed by the labels seem to prevail in the documents.

The secretariats of War and Foreign Relations combined, contain voluminous reports of the raids and counter-raids across the borders between the time of the Texas Revolution and that of the Mexican War. For the Texas-Santa Fé expedition, for example, there are not only rumors and reports of the approaching expedition and accounts of the capture and imprisonment of the Americans, but also many papers taken from the captives, as well as autograph letters subsequently written by them to the United States minister to Mexico, in which they quite uniformly explain their misunderstanding of the enterprise. For the only less famous Mier expedition there is the same wealth of material, touching, it would seem, every important phase, not excepting the romantic break for liberty and the tragic decimation of the unfortunates. Concerning the Mexican War of 1846-1848 there are some fifty large *legajos* in the one section named of the archives of the Secretariat of War and perhaps nearly as much material in the Secretariat of Foreign Relations.

In the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations there are extensive files of correspondence relative to the connection of the United States government with all phases of Southwestern affairs after 1821; files of treaties and records of their negotiation; reports of the various boundary commissions; diplomatic correspondence with the Confederacy; and endless records of claims that grew out of Southwestern border troubles extending over the last three-quarters of the nineteenth century.

The above brief summary of the results of an incompleted task will give, I hope, some idea of the extent and importance of the materials of the kind in question contained in the central public archives of Mexico. To those who are conversant with the bibliography of Southwestern history it is needless to say that the sources described, particularly those for the nineteenth century, have been all but unused. Indeed, I should shrink from presenting a view of these later materials so very general that it contains little but the obvious, were it not for the fact that students seem to have ignored the obvious regarding these recent materials in the Mexican archives.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

DOCUMENTS

*Narrative and Letter of William Henry Trescot, concerning the
Negotiations between South Carolina and President
Buchanan in December, 1860.*

WILLIAM HENRY TRESBOT was born in Charleston, South Carolina, November 22, 1822, and when he was thirty years old was appointed Secretary of Legation at London, serving for two years, when he returned to Charleston and entered upon the practice of law. He also wrote on diplomatic and international subjects on which he soon became recognized as an authority.

In 1852 appeared his book, *The Diplomacy of the Revolution; an Historical Study* (New York), and in 1857 *The Diplomatic History of the Administrations of Washington and Adams* (Boston). He had planned the writing of a complete diplomatic history of the United States, dividing it into four parts—the period of the Revolution, from Washington to Jefferson, from Jefferson to Monroe's declaration, and from Monroe to his own time. The enduring value of the only two volumes he completed must cause regret that circumstances drew him away from carrying out his project.

His volume of the *Diplomatic History of the Administrations of Washington and Adams* was still fresh from the press when President Buchanan invited him to occupy the congenial and dignified office of Assistant Secretary of State.

The President regarded the place as one of great importance, for he was aware that Lewis Cass, whom he appointed to be Secretary of State, was indisposed to responsibility and not possessed of the peculiar talents necessary to make a shining success in the office he called him to fill.¹ But Cass had a large following and brought support to the Administration; and Trescot's appointment also meant more than merely bringing his individual talents into the service of the government, for he represented in a notable degree the ruling class of South Carolina and South Carolina represented and led the advanced school of slavery and states'-rights sentiment in the South. Himself of one of the old patrician families of the state, his marriage to Miss Eliza Natalie Cuthbert had widened

¹ See Curtis's *Buchanan*, II. 399.

and confirmed his family influence, and family influence counted for much in this unique commonwealth. He had a house in Charleston where his law office was, a farm in the up-country at Pendleton and an island on the coast which had come down to his wife by royal grant of George III.

It cannot be truthfully said that the service which he found himself performing soon after he became Assistant Secretary of State came wholly as a surprise to him, for in the dedication of his *Diplomatic History* written in 1857 he had spoken gloomily of the "miserable dissension" then distracting the country, and his knowledge of the sentiment of the people of his state must have prepared him for what happened. How he became the unaccredited envoy of South Carolina near the government of the United States conducting negotiations upon the adjustment of which seemed to hang the fate of the nation and of his state is explained in the narrative which follows and which in its original form has never before seen the light of day. It was written in February, 1861, immediately after Mr. Trescot returned to South Carolina to cast in his fortunes with his native state. Ten years later (in 1871) using this account as the basis he wrote a second narrative, which some years afterwards he lent to General Samuel Wylie Crawford under stipulation and restrictions as to its use which the borrower failed to observe, and a part of it was printed in General Crawford's book *The Genesis of the Civil War: the Story of Sumter* (New York, 1887). The original narrative has never been heretofore printed.

During the Civil War Mr. Trescot served in the legislature, as a member of the executive council of South Carolina and as a colonel on the staff of General Roswell S. Ripley, C. S. A.; but in his chosen field, where he was a master and where his talents would have been of greatest avail to the Confederate government, he was given no opportunity to perform any service, being prevented by the same cause which obscured so much of the best talent of the South when it was most needed. In common with many other Southerners he was not in sympathy with Jefferson Davis and held him in slight esteem, and Davis made no effort to make use of him in his administration.

The war having closed Mr. Trescot came to Washington, which he made his chief place of residence until a few years before his death, when he retired to Pendleton where he died May 4, 1898. During the years of his residence in Washington he performed much service for the government, all of the highest order, and occasionally con-

tributed able and suggestive articles to the magazines. The complete list of the public offices he held follows, with dates of appointment: secretary of legation at London, December 30, 1852; assistant secretary of state, June 11, 1860; commissioner to China to negotiate treaty, April 9, 1880 (he signed the treaty); special envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Chile, November 28, 1881; commissioner to negotiate commercial treaty with Mexico, August 7, 1882 (he signed the treaty); delegate to Pan-American Conference, April 2, 1889; counsel for the United States before the Halifax Fishery Commission in 1877.

The following is a partial list of his writings. Books: *The Diplomacy of the Revolution; an Historical Study* (New York, 1852); *The Diplomatic History of the Administrations of Washington and Adams, 1789-1801* (Boston, 1857). Pamphlets: *A Few Thoughts on the Foreign Policy of the United States* (Charleston, 1849);² *Oration delivered before the Beaufort Volunteer Artillery on July 4, 1850* (Charleston, 1850);² *The Position and Course of the South* (Charleston, 1850);² *A Letter to Honorable A. P. Butler, U. S. Senate, on the Diplomatic System of the United States* (Charleston, 1853);³ *An American View of the Eastern Question* (Charleston, 1854);³ *Oration delivered before the South Carolina Historical Society* (printed in the *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society*, 1889, vol. III.); *The Late General Stephen Elliott: Eulogy delivered in the House of Representatives of South Carolina, Friday, September 7, 1866* (London, 1867);² *Three Letters for James L. Orr, Governor of South Carolina, to the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury in reference to the Sea Islands* (Washington, Gibson Brothers, 1868); *Memorial of the Life of J. Johnston Pettigrew, Brigadier General, C. S. A.* (Charleston, 1870);² *Letter Reviewing the Bayard-Chamberlain Fishery Treaty* (Washington, 1888);³ *Oration before the Alumni of the College of Charleston* (Charleston, 1889). GAILLARD HUNT.

[Although that version of his narrative which Mr. Trescot wrote in February, 1861, is for obvious reasons preferred, as more nearly contemporaneous, to that which he prepared in 1870, certain portions of the latter which are not represented by parallel passages in the former, and not printed in General Crawford's book, have been inserted below in square brackets. For the contribution which follows, we are indebted to Edward A. Trescot, Esq., the writer's son. ED.]

² A copy is in the Library of Congress.

³ A copy is in the Department of State.

[*Introduction to the second version, dated August, 1870:*—These pages make no pretension to be either literature or history. They are simply a record of the impression made upon me by events which have been the subject of much controversy and the truth about which is of essential importance to the future history of the Country.

I do not even claim that my impressions are correct. All I can claim is that they are the honest impressions made by facts truthfully stated. There may be other facts, unknown to me, equally true, and very different impressions may have been made by them on men equally honest.

But it is only by a rigid and impartial scrutiny of all the testimony that the future historian can reach the positive truth. This is only a contribution to the materials of that future history.

These pages were written in February 1861, immediately upon my return from Washington, now nearly ten years ago.]

About the beginning of June 1860, I reached Washington and was confirmed by the Senate as Assistant Secretary of State in the place of the Hon John Appleton appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia. I did not know then and have not learned since to what influence the appointment was due. It was made without consultation with my friends and without previous intimation to me. At the time I was entirely withdrawn from public life and indeed with the exception of a very short Diplomatic service as Secretary of Legation at London while the Hon J. R. Ingersoll was Minister and Mr Everett, Sec of State, I had never been in public life at all, had never taken any active part in public affairs either in the State or in the Union. Gen Cass, who was Secretary of State was pleased to say that the appointment was made entirely for its fitness evidenced by certain publications upon the subject of our Diplomatic History to which it is unnecessary further to refer. Upon my arrival in Washington I saw Mr Buchanan and Gen Cass for the first time and with the exception of the Senators and some of the Members from South Carolina I had no personal acquaintance with any of the public characters of the day. I ought perhaps to except Mr Slidell the Senator from Louisiana whom I knew slightly.

Soon after my arrival Congress adjourned and just before the adjournment Gen Cass left on leave of absence to spend his summer at Detroit and I was appointed by the President's warrant and in conformity with the Act of 1797 Acting Secretary of State.

Placed thus at the head of the State Department my relations with the President, the Cabinet and the Foreign Ministers were naturally and necessarily freer and more intimate than they would have been under ordinary circumstances, with the President especially as he took a special interest in that Department and watched its proceedings minutely and carefully. His Diplomatic experience was large and his views very cautious as well as very clear. I shall always consider my official intercourse with him a great advantage and whatever may have happened since shall always remember with kindness his uniform courtesy and

confidence and the many pleasant incidents of that summers association. Of him and his cabinet I shall record my impressions hereafter. At present my object is simply to preserve while they are fresh in my memory a narrative of the events connected with the visit of the Commissioners from South Carolina.

By the time the autumn arrived a common interest in the political questions of the day and frequent association had brought me into rather intimate relations with the Southern Members of the Cabinet, Cobb, Floyd and Thomson. At length the decisive day came and Lincolns election presented a practical issue to the South. The attitude of South Carolina gave additional importance to my position for I was the only South Carolinian connected with the administration with anything like official rank and the only one who held anything like confidential relations with the leaders of public opinion in the State and as Congress was not in session it was very natural that upon the question of the relations of the Government to the State I should be very freely consulted.

It is unnecessary now to go through the various conversations especially with Mr Cobb and Gov: Floyd which accompanied the progress of events. It is sufficient to say that from the election of Lincoln and indeed from the time that his election was probable, Mr Cobb expressed but one opinion, that it was the duty of the South in defence both of honour and interest to dissolve the Union. He thought that every State should secede by itself and that secession should be practically accomplished on the 4th of March upon the close of Mr Buchanans administration. This he thought most likely to unite the South and only due to Mr Buchanans consistent support of Southern rights.

Gov: Floyd thought secession unwise and dissolution unnecessary. He believed the Black republican triumph only temporary and that their success would be their destruction. As a matter of policy therefore he wished to fight in the Union but recognised the right of a State to secede if she thought it necessary and fully sympathised with the South in the opinion that as far as the North was concerned enough had been done to justify any action the South might take.

Mr Thomsons general views I never did understand clearly. As far as I could learn, he would go with the South but did not seem to think that the South would act or would be forced to act.

The President and Gov: Toucey the Sec of the Navy seemed to me to agree most perfectly. They thought with Gov Floyd that the republican victory was only illusory—that the party could not survive success and that great and universal re-action had commenced at the North. They did not believe that the South was in earnest and thought that secession was probable only in the case of S. C. but they neither recognised the right of a State to secede.

Gen Cass stood I think by himself. From the beginning he believed Lincolns election certain and the dissolution of the Union inevitable.

Not recognising any right in a State to secede except as a revolutionary right, he would have resisted the right at the commencement and as the sworn officer of the U. S. have done his utmost to preserve its integrity. That he believed to be his duty and he would have done it altho he believed he would not succeed in his attempt for a long and bloody civil war, he has over and over again said to me, was the sure and necessary result of the existing condition of things.

Judge Black, the Atty Gen, agreed more nearly with Gen Cass than with anybody else but the Judge never at least before I left Washington seemed to get beyond the legal bearings of the question. It was not with him a question of State but a legal question submitted to the Atty Gen for his opinion.

Of Mr Holt's opinion I had no personal knowledge—what it was has been made very evident of late.

The first time that I was called on to do more than exchange opinions was just after the Legislature of the State had determined to call the Convention but before the election of Members of that body. Just as I was sitting down to dinner one day I received a telegraph from Charleston saying that intense excitement prevailed in the city on account of the removal by Col. Gardner then in command at Fort Moultrie of some arms or ammunition from the U. S. Arsenal in the City, that if the removal was by orders from the Dep of War, it ought to be revoked, otherwise collision was inevitable. Knowing that the Cabinet were then in session I went over immediately to the White House and met the members as the Council broke up, coming down. I called Gov: Floyd aside and he was joined I think by Cobb and Toucey to whom I shewed the Despatch. Gov: Floyd replied "Telegraph back at once, say you have seen me, that no such orders have been issued and none such will be issued under any circumstances". This I did immediately. When a day or two after I received letters giving me a more detailed account of the whole transaction I again saw Gov Floyd who communicated to me in a very full conversation the information he had received and his impressions and his final determination to remove Col. Gardiner and supply his place with Major Robert Anderson in whose discretion coolness and judgment he put great confidence.⁴ He also determined to send Col. Ben Huger to take charge of the Arsenal, believing that his high reputation, and his close association with many of the most influential people in Charleston and the fact of his being a Carolinian would satis[f]y the people of the intentions of the Government. He said that with his opinions he never could and never would consent to the coercion of a Sovereign State—that while he did not think the action of S. C. wise, he sympathised deeply with her spirit—that considering the re-inforcement of the garrisons in Charleston Harbour as looking very like coercion and at any rate only calculated to excite and irritate the popular feeling he would not consent to it. But that he would not submit to

⁴ See *Official Records of the War*, I. 69-73.

any attempt on the part of the people to take the forts—that he was bound to resist and would resist. What would be the consequence of the secession of the State was a grave question which had not yet arisen but that at present he was resolved upon two things—not to reinforce the forts and not to allow them to be taken by an unlawful force. In these positions I agreed with him and both he and I agreed further in believing that there was no danger of an attack on the forts by an unlawful mob and that the State would take action she might deem necessary regularly and with due notice to the Government at Washington. The position of Gov Floyd I explained fully by letters to those at home who could in my opinion best use the knowledge for the purpose of quieting the alarm and apprehension of the citizens of Charleston.

The apprehension of the people of Charleston however was not easily quieted and Gen Cass and Judge Black were anxious to send reinforcements to the Forts. The subject was one of constant discussion. Gov: Floyd was earnest in his determination and resolved not to re-inforce but he thought that when such were his opinions he ought to be trusted, that if in the ordinary routine of the business of his Dep, he sent a few men to Fort Sumt[e]r or a few boxes of ammunition to Fort Moultrie, they ought not to be objects of suspicion. They would never be used and he argued with great force—"You tell me that if any attempt is made to do what under ordinary circumstances is done every day, you will be unable to restrain your people—suppose you are not able to restrain them now, am I bound to leave those garrisons unprotected to the mercy of a mob—am I not bound to enable *them* to resist the unlawful violence which *you* cannot resist?"

While I felt the force of this reasoning I knew also that in the then condition of feeling in Charleston, anything that could be even misunderstood or misrepresented as reinforcement would lead to an explosion which would injure the whole Southern cause. I therefore saw Gov Cobb, explained to him what I understood to be Gov Floyds position. I told him that while I admitted its strength things were in that condition that he could not act from it—that I had the most perfect confidence in him and had pledged myself that our people could trust him perfectly but that any nice difference between what was re-inforcement for the purpose of re-inforcement and what was only ordinary routine would not be understood at such a time—and that unless the Sec of War could make up his mind to allow no change in the Forts important or not, I could not answer for the consequences and after what I had written home would feel bound to resign and tell the authorities there to judge for themselves. I believed such a step would lead to the occupation of Fort Sumter in forty eight hours. And I told him that I was on my way to Gov Floyd to announce to him my conclusion. He proposed that I should postpone my visit until after a conference which he was to have that morning with Gov Floyd and Mr Thomson. I did so. That night Gov Floyd called at my house and had a long and very free

conversation in which he expressed his former convictions, his feeling that the South ought to accept his action without suspicion as his opinions were well known and fixed and had been acted on consistently long before this crisis had come, but that if I thought that collision between the people of the State and the Government forces would be precipitated he would not consent that a man nor a gun should be sent to any of the Forts in the harbour of Charleston and if his sense of duty induced any change in his determination, I would be informed by him in advance of any action and in ample time to pursue such a course as I deemed proper. Things continued upon this footing while the cabinet was engaged in the discussion of the President's annual message, but those members of the Cabinet who desired that re-inforcements should be sent pressed their policy and a few evenings after the last conversation with Gov Floyd, he called upon me evidently much excited. He said that just after dinner the President had sent for him, that when he reached him (at his room in the State Dep: which he occupied while preparing his message) he found Gen Cass and Judge Black there who retired immediately upon his entrance. The President then informed him that he had determined to re-inforce the garrisons in Charleston harbour upon which a very animated discussion arose which had finally ended by the Presidents suspending his decision until Gen Scott reached Washington and the Gen. had been immediately telegraphed to come on to Washington. Gov: Floyd thought that he could satisfy Scott of the impolicy of such a step. He asked me to accompany him to Mr Cobb. Mr Cobb had been quite sick for a day or two and when we reached his house we found that the Dr had given orders that he should not be disturbed. We then started for Mr Thomson's but met him a very few steps off on his way to Mr Cobbs and we all returned to Gov: Floyds where we had a very long discussion of the whole question. Gov: Floyd declared that his mind was made up, that he would cut off his right hand before he would sign an order to send re-inforcements to the Carolina forts and if the President insisted he would resign. Mr Thomson said he agreed with him perfectly and would sustain his course and follow him.

The practical question was by what means the President could be induced to change his purpose. I suggested three.

1. I was not a Cabinet Minister but as Acting Sec of State during a great part of the summer had been in confidential relations with the President. I was the only S. C. in Washington who occupied any position that brought me into official relation with the President directly—he had conversed with me more than once on this subject with freedom and my relations to the public men at home enabled me to speak authoritatively of and to them. I proposed that I should go to the President, state to him that the Sec of War had communicated to me his intentions, disabuse his mind of any unfounded apprehensions as to the action of the State and submit to him the reasons against such a policy as he

thought of adopting. Should I make no impression I would then say that under the circumstances it was my duty however painful to submit my resignation then and there and leave for Columbia the next morning to submit all the facts to the Executive of S. C. I would be in Columbia in 36 hours and upon such information there could be no earthly doubt that the Forts would be occupied in the following 24. Such a resolution respectfully but firmly stated would I thought make the President hesitate. Indeed he could not have acted for he would have been forced to remove Gov: Floyd and the time occupied in the changes and in the execution of the orders would be more than enough to give the State the necessary opportunity. This for reasons unnecessary now to state but which were conclusive, was rejected.

2. To telegraph Mr Miles the M.C. from Charleston to come on immediately in hopes that his representation of the public feeling in Charleston very much exaggerated by the telegraph and letter writers, would relieve the President. This was also rejected.

3. The third which was adopted was that I should write to the Governor of the State (Gist) tell him that the President was under very strong apprehensions that the people would sieze the Forts—that in consequence he felt bound to send re-inforcements. That the Southern Members of the Cabinet would resist this policy to resignation but that they thought that if he felt authorized to write a letter assuring the President that if no reinforcements were sent, there would be no attempt upon the Forts before the meeting of the Convention and that then Commissioners would be sent to negotiate all the points of difference, that their hands would be strengthened, the responsibility of provoking collision would be taken from the State and the President would probably be relieved from the necessity of pursuing this policy. They added that if such a letter was written and failed he should have information in ample time to take such steps as the interest of the State required.

I wrote such a letter and in a few days received the following answer—(see Letter)⁵ which I communicated to Govs Floyd Cobb and Mr Thomson.

While these consultations and conversations were occurring, the President had prepared his Message and in view of its tenor and the probable action of my State, I deemed it proper to say to the President that I had informed Gen Cass I felt it my duty to resign and I would be glad if he would make his selection for my successor as it would probably not be convenient to him for me to leave the office without any one in charge. My interview with the President was a very kind one and at that time Mr Ledyard it was understood would be appointed. He was the son-in-law of Gen Cass, had been his Sec. Legation in France and was in every way very well qualified for the Post. I heard

⁵ Trescot's letter of November 26, 1860, and Governor Gist's reply of November 29, and other letter of the same date, will be found in Crawford, *Genesis of the Civil War*, pp. 30-32.

afterwards that great objection was entertained in some quarters against his appointment on account of his supposed preference for Mr Douglass or a sympathy with the Black republicans. Of this I know nothing. My intercourse with him was always pleasant. We differed widely but respected each others differences and never discussed party politics. A day or two after the receipt of Gov. Gist's letter on the Saturday preceeding the Monday on which Congress assembled, Gov Cobb informed me that the President was desirous that I should take a special copy of his message in advance of its publication to Gov. Gist. That I had been conversant with the discussions relating to it, understood the Presidents views and could while in Columbia explain what was misunderstood there and bring back correct and authoritative account of the state of opinion in S. C. and thus serve to prepare the way for a temperate solution of the issues which must soon arise. The secession of the State was considered certain but it was desirable that an issue of force or a rude collision should if possible be avoided. I saw the President immediately and expressed my willingness to go if he deemed it advisable and he then requested me to withhold my resignation until my return and appointed the hour of nine the next night to give me such instructions as he thought necessary.

On Sunday night⁶ about nine o'clock the President sent for me. While the President was preparing his Annual Message for Congress it was his custom to spend the morning in a room at the State Dep. specially set apart for him and on several occasions he had sent for me in reference to Treaties and other papers relating to the Foreign Affairs of the year. On several of these occasions the conversation had turned upon the present condition of public affairs. As events developed the President became very anxious and would always enquire for the news from Carolina. He had come to the conclusion that the State would secede and the two issues that seemed most to render him uneasy were the collection of the revenues and the seizure of the Forts. I assured him that I did not think he had much to apprehend in the way of unlawful force, that the people of So. Ca. not only held the right of Secession but that they took special pride in carrying out that right quietly, regularly, peaceably as a *right* not as a revolutionary measure—that I really believed it would mortify them to be compelled to resort to force. That they would pass the Ordonnance of Secession and then send regularly accredited agents to negotiate with the governments. "But" said he "you know I cannot recognize them, all I can do is to refer them to Congress". I told him that I believed such a reference courteously made and in good faith would be accepted and that the State would wait a reasonable time for the decision of Congress—this he seemed to think would be sufficient if the Secession was inevitable but still he was very cautious and his great hope seemed to be by temporizing to avoid an issue before the 4th March.

⁶ December 2.

On Sunday night when I saw him, he went over the old ground, said that he thought his message ought to be acceptable to the South that he had spoken the truth boldly and clearly and that all that he had declared was that with regard to the laws of the U. S and the property he would discharge the obligations of his official oath.

I told him that I would take the message with pleasure because it was a courtesy to the Executive of the State and because I thought that waiving the opinions as to the right of Secession it was as conciliatory as it was possible for him to make it from his position and indeed more so than I had expected. But that I must say in candour that it would have no effect upon the action of the Convention, that my recent letters satisfied me that the State would not only secede but that it would secede immediately—that delay until the 4th March was impossible but that having said that much I was perfectly willing to take the message as he desired and I felt confident that he might rely upon my assurance that there would be no violence used towards the Forts by any unlawful assemblage or mob, and that I had in my pocket a letter from the Governor of the State which I would read to him if he desired and the tenour of which I then communicated to him. He then asked me if I had seen Gen Cass. I said not that day but that I had talked over the whole subject with him again and again and we always ended where we began. He said however that I must see him when I left the White House—he wished it particularly and say to him all that I had just said to him. I went to the Generals and did repeat my conversation with the President and left Washington for Columbia on Monday morning.⁷

[Governor Gist received the message in the spirit in which it was sent but he said at once, what indeed was evident from even two or three days association with the members of the Legislature, that the State was determined on immediate secession, that no scheme of policy however plausible could induce delay until the 4th March either in deference to Mr Buchanans position or with a view to the co-operation of other states. At the same time it was evident that the leaders of public opinion did not desire an issue of force and would proceed temperately but resolutely in their work. It was also clear that to avoid such an issue, the Federal Government, however it temporized, would have to concede the principle upon which the State stood. There was also a strong resolution to prevent if possible any popular demonstration of force either in violation of the laws or in the seizure of the property of the United States.]

I reached Washington on Sunday⁸ on my return and saw the President for a few moments that evening and made an appointment for Monday.

On Monday when I called, the Carolina Delegation were with him.

⁷ December 3.

⁸ December 9.

I did not interrupt them but when they had gone I saw him. He shewed me a paper signed by all of them I think but Col Ashmore—the paper which has been published in the correspondence between the President and the Commissioners.⁹ He appeared to be much gratified by it and much relieved and said that he had asked them to see me and he would then have a talk with me. I told him that I had not seen them but that paper did not go any farther if as far as the Governors letter which I had communicated to him. “What letter” said he “I do not recollect it and when?” “The evening on which you gave me your message to take to Columbia.” He said he did not remember it, “have you got it?” I said it was at my house and I could get it in five minutes and added that as the Sec of the Interior had just come in I would leave them to their business while I went for it. I brought it back and read it to the President in Mr Thomson’s presence. We then discussed it and the whole subject and I told the President that my impression from my visit confirmed exactly what I had said to him before I went. “Well”, said he, “that is all very well up to the point where the negotiation stops—for Congress may refuse to entertain it—what then?” “Then Sir”, said I, “I will speak with the most perfect candour, then the State will take the Forts—what else can she do if she is in earnest? But I hope the negotiation will not fail. And”, I added, “Mr President, why keep troops in the Forts at all?—If I understand your message rightly you consider them simply as property just as you do the Post Office and the Sub Treasury building—You dont propose to guard them do you?” He said “No”. “Then”, said I, “why not treat the Forts precisely in the same manner—keep an orderly sergeant and one or two men there only?” He said he had great faith in the honour of the State and that the Governors letter and the Memorandum of the M.C’s was a guarantee he believed that nothing violent would be done. That he would receive the Commissioners kindly and refer the whole matter to Congress and so on travelling round in the same circle—and I took my leave.

Soon after my return to Washington I received late one night a telegraph from Charleston informing me that some muskets had been removed from the Arsenal in Charleston by Captn Foster U. S. A. I took the telegraph over to Gov: Floyd who was confined to his bed and was requested by him to see Col Drinkard the C.C. of the Dep and tell him to issue an order by telegraph for their immediate restoration. The order was sent and by the telegraph which was kept open all night, was acknowledged. The next morning the arms were restored.¹⁰

⁹ 36 Cong., 2 sess., *House Ex. Doc.*, no. 26, vol. VI., p. 9; *Official Records of the War*, I. 116; Curtis, *Buchanan*, II. 377. Statement of Miles and Keitt to the South Carolina Convention, *Official Records*, I. 125-128.

¹⁰ *Official Records*, I. 95-100. Two telegrams to Mr. Trescot upon the subject, taken from the second version of his narrative, are given in Crawford, *Genesis*, pp. 77, 78.

In the meantime Gen Cass who had from the beginning of the controversy held but one opinion and one language, submitted to the President his formal advice that re-inforcements should be sent to the Forts at Charleston. The morning on which he submitted his opinion I went into his room to hand him my resignation which I had withdrawn until my return from Columbia. He begged me to keep it for a day or two for events might render it unnecessary, at least he perhaps could not act on it—he said he could not speak more plainly then but the next day he would explain all altho I probably understood him. This of course I knew meant only one thing and the next day he resigned, the President having refused to accept his advice. Under the circumstances I felt bound to say to the President that I would continue in office until he appointed a New Secretary provided the appointment was made before the Act of Secession was passed by the Convention. For the refusal to adopt Gen Cass' advice was in the interest of the State and it would have embarrassed the President to have the Dep without either a Secretary or an Asst Sec. Judge Black, the Atty Gen who was appointed was very busy in the Supreme Court and it was not I think before the 17th the day of the passage of the Act that I fairly ceased official action at the Dep.

The Legislature of S. C. had elected by this time the new Governor Pickens. I wrote to him informing him that his predecessor Gov: Gist had desired me to remain in Washington after my resignation in order that there might be some authorized channel of communication until the arrival of Commissioners from the Convention and I described to the Gov: the then condition of things. This invitation of Gov: Gist I had communicated to the Pres and such members of the Cabinet as I consulted or even spoke to freely on public affairs. (See letter.)¹¹

Soon after Gov P's election the Convention met and passed the Ordinance of Secession, but before the Ordinance passed, D. H. Hamilton arrived from Gov: P. with a letter for me¹² covering a sealed letter to

¹¹ The letter, Trescot to Pickens, December 14, 1860, follows on a later page.

¹² This letter, dated Columbia, December 17, and marked "Strictly confidential", is here transcribed from the copy in the second version of Mr. Trescot's narrative:

"*My Dear Sir:*—I send Daniel H. Hamilton, the bearer of a very important confidential letter to the President of the United States and would be deeply obliged to you, as you are now in Washington under request of Gov: Gist, to attend to him immediately and go with him to see that he most certainly is able to deliver himself the letter to the President of the U. S.

"You will take occasion to say to the President that Mr Hamilton will remain one day if it is desired he shall wait that long, to receive any letter or communication that may be made and that you will deliver it yourself—and if you think it necessary you may yourself bring the answer if the President accompanies it by any verbal explanation that may be trusted to you from the President.

"And by the end of one day you will communicate with Mr Hamilton and inform him whether he will bring the answer or whether you will bring it yourself."

the President which I was directed to see delivered by Hamilton. Its contents were not communicated but I was informed that Hamilton was to wait 24 hours for an answer, but that if the President preferred sending an answer by me accompanied by a verbal communication, I was instructed to bring it. The nature of this extraordinary missive I had received notice of in a confidential letter by the previous mail *not* from the Gov: however. I saw the President and returned with Hamilton at an hour appointed. The President received us in the Library, read the letter and asked Hamilton when he expected to return. He replied the next morning. The P. said it was impossible to give him the answer by that time—could he not wait longer? Hamilton said Yes, until the next evening. The P. said the answer would then be ready. Hamilton then said, "Mr President I am aware of the contents of that letter and think that if you would accept them it would greatly facilitate the negotiations between my government and the U. S." The President said he would consider it and give Mr Hamilton his answer the next day. The President as I was leaving the room called me back, gave me the letter, asked me to read it and return to him, to talk it over.¹³

The letter proposed that in order to quiet the apprehensions of the people of the State as to the Forts, Gov P. should be authorized by the President to occupy Fort Sumter with a small body of State troops, the answer to the request or demand to be given in 24 hours.

The objections to this demand it is useless to state, but if Gov P had simply asked the President for an assurance that Sumter should not be occupied and that Anderson should be so instructed I think it could have been obtained. As it was, this demand if persisted in released the President from his pledge to the Members of C and placed them in a very awkward attitude and in my opinion would lead to exactly what it wanted to avoid. I consulted Senators Davis and Slidell and we were very much embarrassed what to do. Gen Bonham and McQueen dined with me that day and as Hamilton had told them of the object of his mission I communicated to them the contents of his letter and told them that if they would join me I would telegraph the Gov for authority to withdraw it. We did so, I received the authority and the next morning withdrew the letter.¹⁴ The President expressed his gratification, repeated to me over and over again his desire to avoid a collision, his readiness to receive Commissioners, to refer them to Congress in good faith and his determination not to disturb the Status of the Forts but to wait the result of their negotiation. He was pledged, he said, not to disturb the Status in the favour of the U. S. and the Gov ought not and could not justly ask him to disturb it in favour of the State. He was trusting to

¹³ This letter of Pickens, December 17, 1860, the day of his inauguration as governor, and three days before the secession of the state, was printed in the *Journal of the House of Representatives of South Carolina*, regular session of November, 1861, p. 67, and reprinted in Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, III. 2.

¹⁴ See Buchanan's memorandum in Curtis, II. 383.

the honour of Carolina and they ought not to suspect him, he was acting under the obligations of his honour and I and the State might rely upon it, would redeem it to the uttermost. He said he had taken no copy of the letter but would be glad if I had no objections to have a copy of the telegraph under which I withdrew it which I gave him. I accordingly returned the letter to Hamilton with a letter to the Governor stating my reasons for desiring to withdraw it. (See letter.)¹⁵

[On the 23^d I received the following telegram

W H Trescott

CHARLESTON Decr 23, 60

I have been informed that thirteen men have arrived by the North Eastern rail road and they say they were sent to Fort Moultrie and are a part of one hundred and fifty (150). I desire to know immediately if it is intended to reinforce the forts or to transfer any force from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter. I want a clear answer on this immediately. Until the Commissioners shall negotiate at Washington, there can be no change here.

F. W. PICKENS.

Again I called upon Gov: Floyd. The Gov was evidently becoming impatient under the embarrassments of his position for it was difficult to be accountable to the President on the one hand and to the State of S. C. on the other. He had done every thing that a man in his situation could do to prove his good faith and he felt very naturally that the difficulties of his position ought to be appreciated and that explanations and pledges perhaps inconsistent with his duties should not be pressed except under the very gravest necessity. It was moreover a matter of great moment that in this juncture Gov Floyd should retain his place in the Cabinet as long as possible and every step he took or did not take was watched and misrepresented for no man at the South was more cordially detested by the Black Republican Party. Gov Floyd told me to reply to the Governor that there was not the slightest foundation for any alarm, that he knew nothing of any such men and any statement to such an effect was a sheer fabrication, made he must suppose, for purposes of mischief. As for the removal of troops to Sumter, he could not see any likelihood of it, that he did not think it necessary to send special orders to that end to Maj Anderson for he could not consider it at all probable and that in fact he thought any such contingency provided against by orders already sent to which he did not feel at liberty to refer more specially; that the Commissioners must soon be in Washington and that he could see no rational ground for anticipating premature difficulty. I thought this as far really as he could go and that to press upon him or the President more positive action was to risk the advantage that continued delay on the part of the Government was giving to the State. I therefore telegraphed the Governor the contradiction he authorized and waited with anxiety the arrival of the Commissioners.]

¹⁵ This letter, Trescott to Pickens, December 21, 1860, was printed in the *Journal of the House of Representatives of South Carolina*, regular session of November, 1861, pp. 169-171, and reprinted in Nicolay and Hay, III. 7-9.

Within a very few days I received from the Governor a formal despatch by telegraph stating the appointment by the Convention of Commissioners and instructing me to communicate their appointment and the time of their departure to the President which I did. He asked the character of the appointments, expressed himself pleased with the selection, disclosed his readiness to see them and to refer them courteously to Congress and his intention to act in perfect good faith.

The Commissioners telegraphed me to remain in Washington until they came. I made the necessary arrangements for them, received them and called the evening of their arrival¹⁸ on the President to inform him of their presence in Washington. Judge Black was with him. We talked over a good deal that we had gone over before and the President appointed an hour—one, I think, the next day—to receive them. I told him they would submit their credentials to him and have an informal conversation with him but that if he submitted the matter of their reception to Congress they would wish to send a communication to go in with his message—they would come prepared with it, or if he agreed with me in thinking it best, they would not prepare it until after the conversation when perhaps all parties would understand each other better but it was to be considered as submitted on the conversation, to which he cheerfully assented.

The Commissioners upon their arrival invited me to act as their Secretary which I declined for reasons which it is unnecessary to mention and they then insisted upon my remaining with them in Washington and acting with them unofficially which I did altho with great reluctance.

The day after their arrival was spent in preparing their credentials for delivery to the President. The next morning I was at their residence and while talking over the condition of affairs Col Wigfall one of the Texas Senators came in to inform us that the telegraph had just brought the news that Major Anderson had left Fort Moultrie, spiked his guns, burned his gun carriages, cut down the flag staff and removed his command to Sumter. We all expressed our disbelief in the intelligence and after a good deal of discussion I said, "Well at any rate Col., True or not I will pledge my life that if it has been done it has been without orders from Washington". Just as I made the remark Gov: Floyd, the Sec at War was announced. After the usual courtesies of a meeting I said, "Gov., Col Wigfall has just brought us this news and as you were coming up the stairs I said I would pledge my life it was without orders". "You can do more" said he smiling "You can pledge your life Mr Trescot that it is not so. It is impossible. It would be not only against orders but in the face of orders. To be very frank Anderson was instructed in case he had to abandon his position, to dismantle Fort Sumter not Fort Moultrie". I asked him if his carriage was at the door to let me take it and go home—there might be telegraphs there.

¹⁸ Wednesday, December 26. The commissioners, it will be remembered, were Robert W. Barnwell, James H. Adams and James L. Orr.

I took the carriage, drove home and returned immediately with two telegrams for Col Barnwell which he read and handed them to Gov Floyd saying "I am afraid Gov: it is too true". Floyd read the telegram (from Gen Jones) asked the Commissioners whether they considered the authority sufficient and then rose adding "I must go to the Dep: at once". He immediately went to the War Dep. I went up to the Senate, communicated the news to Senator Davis of Miss and Senator Hunter and asked them if they would go with me to the President. We drove down to the White House and sent in our names, were asked into the Presidents room where he joined us in a few moments. When he came in he was evidently nervous. I knew his manner too well to be mistaken and he immediately commenced by making some remark to Mr Hunter about the removal of Beverly Tucker the Consul at Liverpool to which Mr Hunter made a general reply. Col Davis then said "Mr President we have called upon an infinitely greater matter than any consulate". "What is it", asked the P. "Have you received any intel[l]igence from Charleston in the last two or three hours", said Col D. "None", said the P. "Then", said Col D. "I have a great calamity to announce to you". He then stated the facts and added "and now Mr President you are surrounded with blood and dishonour on all sides". The President was standing by the mantelpiece crushing up a cigar into pieces in his hand—a habit I have seen him practice often. He sat down as Col D finished and exclaimed—"My God are calamities (or misfortunes, I forget which) never to come singly. I call God to witness—you gentlemen better than anybody know—that this is not only without but against my orders, it is against my policy." He then expressed his doubt of the truth of the telegram, thought it strange that nothing had been heard at the War Dep—said he had not seen Gov: Floyd and finally sent a messenger for him. When Gov Floyd came he said that no telegram had come to the Dep: that the heads of Bureaux there thought it unlikely but that he had telegraphed to this effect himself—"There is a report here that you have abandoned Fort Moultrie, spiked your guns, burned your carriages and gone to Fort Sumter. It is not believed as you had no orders to justify it. Say at one [once] what could have given rise to such a story".¹⁷

The President was urged to take immediate action—he was told that the probability was that the remaining Forts would be seized and garrisoned by S. C and that Fort Sumter would be attacked—that if he would only say that he would replace matters as he had pledged himself that they should remain, there was yet time to remedy the mischief. The discussion was long and earnest. At first he seemed disposed to declare that he would restore the Status but then hesitated, said he must call his cabinet together, he could not condemn Maj Anderson unheard. He was told that nobody asked that, only say that *if* the

¹⁷ The texts of the telegram and of Anderson's replies are in *Official Records*, I. 3.

move had been made without a previous attack on Anderson he would restore the status. Assure us of that determination and then take what time was necessary for consultation and information. That resolution telegraphed would restore confidence and enable the Commissioners to continue their negotiation. This he declined doing and we left. On our way out we met Gen Lane, Senator Bigler, Yulee, Mallory on their way to make the same remonstrance for the news was over the City. Later in the day I saw him to shew him some more detailed telegraphs. Senator Slidell was with him but all that he did was to authorize me to telegraph that Andersons movement was not only without but against his orders.

The interview with the Commissioners was postponed until the next day when they presented him their credentials and the first letter of their correspondence (See Correspondence).¹⁸ I was not present at that interview.

The following days were consumed in Cabinet meetings duri[n]g which Gov: Floyd resigned for the reasons stated in his published letter.¹⁹ The answer to the Commissioners was in the mean while sent. Upon Floyds resignation Holt was appointed Sec at War. On Sunday I determined to see the President once more. I found him with Mr Toucey the Sec of the Navy. I told him I would like with his permission to have a half hours conversation with him to which he very courteously assented. I then as temperately as I could reviewed the whole transaction—he stopped me at first saying that I of all persons ought to know it was exceedingly irregular and improper for the President to discuss such matters with the Sec of the Commission. I told him I was not Sec nor had any sort of official connection with the Comm: that I came to him simply because he himself had established my connection with this affair and in such a way that I had a right I thought to speak freely to him. He then said—in that case proceed. I could not now repeat the conversation, it was very earnest but very temperate. He shewed a good deal of feeling and seemed very much worn and distressed. I inferred from all that passed that his difficulty consisted in this—that the seizure of the other Forts by S. C. rendered the restoration of the former status impossible for if he ordered Anderson from Sumter he had nowhere to send him unless he withdrew him altogether from the harbour. Under this impression I went to Mr Hunter of Virginia and told him if this is the difficulty tell the President that if he will withdraw from Sumter, the State will withdraw from the other Forts and that Maj Anderson will be as safe in Fort Moultrie as if he were here. The Comm: will accept this return to the status and guarantee his safety. Mr Hunter immediately went to

¹⁸ 36 Cong., 2 sess., *House Ex. Doc.* no. 26, vol. VI., pp. 5-12. Buchanan's account of the interview of December 28 is in *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, pp. 181, 182; an account by one of the commissioners is in Crawford, *Genesis of the Civil War*, p. 148.

¹⁹ Printed in Moore's *Rebellion Record*, I., Documents, p. 10.

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him and when he returned—I was waiting at his rooms—he said: “Tell the Comm: it is hopeless. The President has taken his ground—I *cant* repeat what passed between us but if you can get a telegram to Charleston, telegraph at once to your people to sink vessels in the channel of the harbour.” This message he sent the next morni[n]g again to the Comm by his colleague Mr Mason. There is no doubt that orders for reinforcements had then been issued altho afterwards countermanded. After this there was no further hope, the Commissioners replied as appears by their correspondence²⁰ and left Washington.

The above is merely a rough outline to be made complete at my leisure and the letters and telegrams to be inserted. One or two facts and some conversations are omitted and I intend to add my views of the facts as they occur.

WM HENRY TRESCOTT

Feby 1861

In the whole of these transactions Mr Buchanans position was a very difficult one and it was aggravated by three things. 1. Mr Buchanan never not even I think at the last moment realized the danger. The representations made to him of the condition of feeling and opinion of the South he never would believe. He thought it likely that South Carolina would secede but that she would not be supported by any other state and not even Mr Cobbs resignation opened his eyes altho he had great respect for Mr Cobbs judgment and must have seen that this resignation was the utter destruction of Mr Cobbs future if he had misinterpreted Georgia. The first time he seemed really to begin to believe in what was so near at hand was when Mr Toombs called on him. While the Commissioners from S. C. were waiting in Washington, several gentlemen of influence in Savannah Georgia, telegraphed both Mr Toombs and Mr Orr to know whether Fort Sumter would be restored to its status by the withdrawal of Anderson and whether it would be held by the Government. The object of the enquiry was clear and it was thought not impolitic to give the President information of the consequence of his persistence. Mr Toombs accordingly went to the White House and sent in his card. The Cabinet was in session but the President received him in the next room. “I am aware Mr President” said T “that the Cabinet is in session and that today is the annual dinner to the Supreme Court and that you have scarcely time to see me. But while I apologize for the intrusion, it is an evidence what importance I attach to the interview. I would ask Mr President whether you have decided upon your course as to Fort Sumter?” “No Sir, I have not yet decided. The Cabinet is now in session upon that very subject.” “I thank you Sir for the information that is all I wanted to know”, said T. retiring. “But Mr T. why do you ask?”

²⁰ *Official Records*, I. 120–125.

"Because Sir my State has a deep interest in the decision." "How your State—what is it to Georgia whether a fort in Charleston harbour is abandoned?" "Sir, the cause of Charleston is the cause of the South". "Good God Mr Toombs do you mean that I am in the midst of a revolution?" "Yes Sir—more than that—you have been there for a year and have not yet found it out"—and he retired. When the President returned to the Cabinet he seemed very much excited and said, "Gentlemen I really begin to believe that this is revolution". But Mr Buchanan ought to have known the truth better and sooner. He was not ignorant of the consequences of such a move as one state at least even in his opinion was sure to make. I was much impressed with a remark of his on that very subject. I was spending one night with him during the summer at his residence—the Soldiers Home—and after tea Gov: Floyd joined us in the porch and the conversation became very interesting. Turning at last upon the probable result of the coming Presidential election and its consequences, he said "well there is no danger as long as the States wait upon each other—as long as they wait for joint resolutions to act, but if any one state is bold enough to act—to secede by itself, then questions will be raised beyond the solution of any statesman in this country"—or words to that effect.

But when the fact happened, he could not believe it. Accustomed like all Northern statesmen to look at the Union rather than the States, habituated to use state politics merely as counters in the game for Federal power and belonging to a party which had never hesitated to make "a cry" of the most solemn and important issues, he could not realize that this popular excitement was any thing wider or deeper than the thousand and one political agitations on which skillful men had come into power. It would run its course, a little more violently perhaps than usual—there would be a re-action at the North and all would be well for another four years.

2. In the next place Mr B. was really powerless. Few men have ever in four years been so completely stripped of real authority. Cold and calculating, with a clear head but no heart, ready at any moment to desert a friend whom he had used in order to secure an enemy whom he wanted to use—with a habit of indirectness that at times almost became falsehood and a wariness that sometimes degenerated into craftiness—with no faith in sentiment and a cynical estimate of men the result of long party experience, and all this justified in his own eyes by the fact, which nobody can dispute who knows him, that he really had no ulterior selfish purpose—that he wished to serve his country and was a man in his individual relations of perfectly clean hands—Mr Buchanan was just the man to utterly belittle a great cause, misunderstand a real national crisis and compromise a great position by small acts and smaller motives. He had identified the Government with himself and to take care therefore of his own position, to save himself embarrassment and mortification, was to protect the government. When Mr Buchanan

therefore became aware of the trouble which was closing all round him—"apres moi le deluge" was his first principle of action. To protract the issue, not to close it, was his policy. Like Heseekiah when the prophet denounced the destruction of his house and the captivity of his children, the piteous burden of his cry was "Is it not good, if peace and truth be in *my* day?"

He therefore diplomatized with those whose action he could not entirely stay. He promised not to force an issue, to receive Commissioners, to refer to Congress and in this policy he persevered even in face of Gen Cass's resignation. But the issue came nevertheless and Maj Andersons removal to Sumter, placed it sharp and sudden before the country. Now this policy of delay and compromise and reference was Mr Buchanans not his cabinets—it was conducted without the intervention of his Northern Members and in private consultations with his Southern—not exactly in official pledges but in conversations with Southern Members of Congress—in adopting suggestions from Floyd and Thompson—and keeping up indirect communications with those in authority and influence in South Carolina. When Andersons conduct made the issue, official action was necessary. Mr Buchanan had to take his choice between two courses, to sustain him or to condemn. The conduct of his officer was in direct contradiction to the whole undercurrent of his policy but not so in regard to the position of his message, nor the official action of the Cabinet. He wavered—but what could he do—Cobb was gone, Floyd went, Thompson and Thomas had to go, the excitement in the South grew fiercer, the act of Anderson had fired the whole train of Southern feeling—to go with the South now was to go entirely with them. Black and Toucey, Stanton and Holt, said decide—whatever you may have done we are uncommitted—keep the word which the South says you have pledged and we resign—we believe in the Union and will not betray it. In the Senate, every State that seceded—and at length even he saw that the secession of six states was certain—swept away his former friends and the Black Republican Majority grew in grim proportions, while the few Southern Senators left bore him no love and owed him no allegiance. He surrendered into the hands of the North and refused to withdraw Anderson. Besides, like the Northern Members of his Cabinet, he was a Northern man. If this revolution was checked he and they would claim credit for their firmness, if it succeeded they were to remain at the North and must be supported by Northern opinion. To those Southern men who were for conciliating and humouring Mr B, this was evident from the first—when the issue came, they and he must separate but they were willing for reasons of their own to make the issue as peaceful as possible and lost nothing by meeting Mr Buchanan, half way. A day or two before I left Washington I called on Judge Black at the State Dep: to tell him goodbye. I liked the Judge very much; he was peculiar almost eccentric in his way, a very simple and somewhat awkward manner, a rumpled look as

if neither his wig nor his clothes would fit his ungainly person, but his conversation was delightful, original and rather quaint in his conceptions and at times wonderfully rich and full in his expression. We had a very curious conversation, all things considered. We first talked about the appointment of the new collector for Charleston upon which I said, "Well Judge if you people of Pennsylvania are not statesmen, at least you are heroes." "How?"—"Why, have you not found a man bold enough to make a martyr of himself by taking the collectorship at Charleston?" "You are joking aren't you—there is no *danger*." "The devil—there isn't. I would not like to be in his place. Why they will hang him to a certainty." "Then by the Lord Jehovah—do it and add murder to your other crimes but you will repent it in sackcloth and ashes—and the Judge hitched up his trousers and walked up and down the room very indignantly." After a hearty laugh I said, "Not exactly hang him Judge, but seriously he will be informed that he cannot assume his office and be politely requested to leave at his earliest possible convenience." "Well, Well"—said the Judge "that wont hurt him and if he cant stay why he'll have to go I suppose." Then the Judge broke out into an eulogy on South Carolina, "There," said he, "a little state no bigger than the palm of my hand, has broken up this mighty empire. Like Athens you controul Greece—you have made and you will controul this revolution by your indomitable spirit. Up to this time you have played your part with great wisdom—unequalled, but now you are going wrong". Then he went into a discussion of the position of things but what seemed to annoy him that we would not call it revolution, that we claimed secession to be a right under the constitution and said what his policy would have been from the first. As I understand him, but I am by no means sure that I did understand him, he would have garrisoned every southern port so that a violent secession would have been hopeless and the State would have been forced to call a convention of states to decide upon the alleged grievances and that convention called upon the re-action at the North would have represented the true conservative element of the nation, have done full justice to the South and thus settled the Union firmly forever. When he was done I said jestingly, "Well if we have made mistakes, some other people have made mistakes too." "Yes," he said—"there were two broad roads to be followed and one narrow strip between where nobody could move and with wonderful ingenuity we have got just on that spot. Yes, you nearly carried your point, you had every thing your own way. As for anybodys word of honour being involved I cant help that. The President must take care of his own honour. We had to take care of the countrys. I dont know anything about that, if he committed himself so much the worse—it was for a good, an honest purpose but that is not our concern. You nearly beat us but we had one card left and fortunately that was a trump, so we beat you."

3. But there was another motive at the bottom of the Presidents

vacillation and apparent weakness. He could not bring himself to take decisive measures in Lincoln's interest. While he was anxious to preserve the Union—was not willing to allow the extent of the danger, his secret sympathy was with the South. In his heart he felt that their protest was his defence. The Black Republican triumph was one especially over him—they had denounced him and his policy—they had taken away his own Pennsylvania—they had personally libelled him and held him up to scorn by the famous Covode Committee. The South had elected him, had supported his administration and after all their indignation to accept Lincoln and submit to Black Republican rule was almost to acquiesce in his condemnation. He had no objections to see the storm rage if it stopped short of shipwreck—to see the Republicans broken to pieces in the very flush of their insolent triumph and a reaction sweep over the North and float the old Democracy into power in 1864. He would not therefore encourage “the rebels”, he would check them as far as he could, but the Constitution had not given him authority, he could not stain his executive robes with the blood of American citizens and if he could fight off the issue instead of fighting it, until Lincoln who had sowed the storm had arrived in person to reap the whirlwind, why that was all the country had a right to expect and he could go home to Wheatlands with a quiet conscience and if the ship of state must go down—at least his hand was not on the helm. Now I could not prove all this but if human nature is human nature it is true and I firmly believe it and it is the only explanation of the extraordinary conduct of the President from the departure of the Commissioners until the inauguration of Lincoln.

Note.

I have omitted to mention above, Mr Cobb's resignation as Secretary of the Treasury, because it was not directly connected with the events to which I was referring. Mr Cobb had early in the summer made up his mind as to what ought to be the consequences of Lincoln's election and as the day of election drew nigh had written to his friends in Georgia that whatever the State might do in that event they must should it occur withdraw his name from before the Legislature as a candidate for the vacant Senatorship U. S. as he could not consent to represent the State under such circumstances and preferred to consider his public life closed. But Mr Cobb was personally much attached to Mr Buchanan. He thought the South owed it to Mr B to save him this issue if possible and moreover there was a greater probability of action on the part of Georgia if the people were called on to resist the inauguration of a Black Republican Administration than if compelled to secede under an Administration which they had brought into power and the course of which had generally met their approbation. He was also anxious that Mr Buchanan's message should take such ground in reference to the great question dividing the country as to justify if possible the course which the South would probably adopt. He therefore determined to

remain until the message went in to Congress and used what influence he possessed in support of that policy which proposed the joint Secession of the Southern States on the 4th March. When the Message went in therefore, he published an address to the people of Georgia declaring his views and as they included both the right and duty of the Secession of that State, he naturally but not abruptly closed his connection with Mr Buchanan's administration.

Mr Cobb made a very favourable impression on me. He was a man of amiable and conciliatory temper well adapted to serve as a modifying centre for extreme opinions, with a clear head, very decided opinions himself but always willing to listen to and combine the opinions of others for practical action and as far as I could judge, truly heartily and unselfishly devoted to the cause of the South.

[Mr Cobb with his usual clear judgment and sound common sense retired before the issue became too complicated. The States to which Gov Floyd and Mr Thomson belonged had not yet seceded. Until they did these gentlemen had a perfect constitutional right to remain in the Cabinet for two purposes. 1. Either to devise some plan of compromise or, 2. to maintain if they could the constitutional doctrine which they held, that force could not be used against a seceding State. This was all they did and this they had a right to do. Gov: Floyd refused to use force against South Carolina and the President sustained him until the seizure of Fort Sumter and then changing his policy, Gov Floyd very properly resigned. Mr Thomson, thinking that until this change of policy was carried into action it might be again reversed, remained but in a few days was forced to follow Gov: Floyd and leaving the President free to re-construct his Cabinet which he did by making Mr Holt Sec at War and Mr Stanton Atty General, thus giving it an unity of purpose and an ability which would soon have been felt but for his own persistent and consistent indecision, if that can properly be called indecision which was really a fixed purpose to be undecided.]

The position of all the Southern Members of the Cabinet was difficult and anomalous and just as in any other government the Secession of a State would have been absolute rebellion, so in any other kind of Administration, their conduct may have been denounced as treason. But with the theory upon which the South has based its action that the Union was a confederacy the members of the cabinet must be allowed the same freedom of contravening the policy of the administration as the states have of destroying the structure of the Constitution. In other words, the Administration being only the official exponent of the constitution in its daily practical life, the moment the Union is disintegrated, so is the cabinet, and the contest there to prevent the power of the Government from interfering against either party on the ground that is the mere agent of both and without independent authority, becomes legitimate. To apply the words treason and treachery therefore to the conduct of the Southern Members of Mr B's Cabinet is to borrow a technical

language from Foreign Governments which has no true application to the circumstances of our own. In fact the condition of the Cabinet was the genuine exponent of the unexampled condition of the Country.

That such a state of things is desirable or profitable either to the character or interest of a Nation, I am far from saying, but it is the inevitable result of our history which in its results has now proved that the Union was only a state of transition and that the U. S were in no true sense ever one nation.

What the new development will be, it is now too early to speculate upon but as a generalization it does not seem to be risking much to say that if there is real homogeneity in the sentiment and interests of the South, it will find its expression in unity of national feeling and centralization of national Government, accelerated or retarded of course by the influence of external events.

[The negotiation which the Commissioners from South Carolina went to Washington to open was never commenced. The Commissioners themselves were admirably selected. They had all filled with distinction very eminent places either in the Federal or State Governments, some of them in both. They were men of decided and varied ability and while they represented the unity of the States purpose, also represented with singular accuracy the minor differences of opinion which existed in the State. They came to Washington with an implicit confidence in Mr Buchanans intention to deal fairly with them and were anxious to do all that was consistent with their sense of duty, to solve the issue as temperately as circumstances would permit and however they may have been controuled by their knowledge of public opinion at home, they were allowed by the Convention which appointed them, unlimited discretion in the discharge of their grave responsibility. That Mr Buchanan was sincere in his desire to meet them in the same spirit is evident from the necessities of his position and his course both before and after their visit. But Major Andersons movement, made the very day of their arrival, complicated the whole subject beyond solution. That Mr Buchanan failed to redeem very solemn pledges when he acquiesced in Major Andersons conduct, there can be no question. But it is a question whether he could have done otherwise. At the commencement of an Administration, with a strong and successful party behind him he could have done it. Perhaps even then with a resolute will and perfect directness of purpose he could have done it. But all substantial authority had departed from him and he was not a man of direct ways. The threat of impeachment with no friendly Senate to sit in judgment stood in his way, popular clamour became loud at the North and as he said to a friend "If I withdraw Anderson from Sumter, I can travel home to Wheatlands by the light of my own burning effigies". His cabinet was resolute, as Mr Stanton expressed himself very strongly to me "You say the President has pledged himself. I dont know it, I have not heard his account but I know you believe it. For the present I will admit it. The President

was pledged. Andersons conduct has broken that pledge. You had two courses to choose. You had a right to either. You could have appealed to the President to redeem his pledge or you could have said the circumstances under which Anderson has acted prove bad faith, we will not trust you any further and then have acted as you saw fit: but you have no right to adopt both—stand on the Presidents pledge and give him the chance to redeem it or take the matter in your own hands. Now you have chosen—you have by seizing the remaining forts and arsenals undertaken to redress yourselves. The Presidents pledge may be broken or not—that *now* concerns him individually—as to the Government you have passed by the pledge and assumed in vindication a position of hostility—with that alone I have to deal.”

But while it was impossible for Mr Buchanan to redeem his word, the Commissioners could accept nothing less. They knew the temper of their people, they knew with what difficulty they had been restrained from seizing Fort Sumter when it was undefended, they knew that the possession of Fort Sumter meant the sealing up of the harbour of Charleston and the collection of Federal Revenue by the Federal navy and they knew that nothing but the practical disavowal of instant removal would convince the State that she had not been treacherously duped. All this they stated frankly to Mr Buchanan in their interview and in their first letter. His reply left little hope that there would be room for negotiation. He refused positively to disavow Major Anderson or to countermand his movement. Even then the Commissioners hesitated to abandon all hope of an arrangement. After careful deliberation, with a full sense of the responsibility of their act, an act indeed touching the utmost verge of their largest discretion, they made as I have already stated through Mr Hunter the proposition that they would engage to restore the forts which had been seized if the President would withdraw Major Anderson from Sumter and return him to Moultrie and with the status thus re-established they were still ready to negotiate. This was declined and Mr Hunters message indicated that active measures had been taken in precisely the contrary direction. Then but not until then did the Commissioners write their concluding letter. It was in no sense a Diplomatic Document. It was formally addressed to the President but in reality to the country. It was meant and ought so to be considered as a vindication of the earnestness and sincerity of the State in the pacific course which she had attempted, as a proof to the South that the issue was not to be avoided and as an explanation and justification of their own conduct in terminating their mission and returning home.]

TRECOT TO THE GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.²¹*Confidential*

To His Excellency

The Governor of the State of So. Ca.

WASHINGTON, D. C

Decem. 14, 1860

Sir

Having resigned my place as Assistant Secretary of State of the U. S. I shall remain here in pursuance of the request of Gov: Gist, conveyed to me in a letter of the 29th Novem. and in conformity with the wishes expressed in the same letter shall submit to your attention such information as I deem either interesting or important in the present condition of public affairs.

Before entering upon the immediate subject of this communication it is proper that I should inform you of an event of very considerable significance which has just occurred. You will have learned from the papers that previous to the delivery of the Presidents Message there was a general apprehension that its publication would lead to a dissolution of the Cabinet. This did not happen, the concessions of the message appeared to have brought about the agreement of the Cabinet upon a common but rather uncertain ground. Immediately after its promulgation however Mr Cobb, the Secretary of the Treasury deemed it his duty to retire from the Cabinet for reasons which he has given to the public. He was succeeded by Gov: Thomas of Maryland whose views are considered as identical with those of the Southern section of the Cabinet and the balance might therefore be fairly held to be undisturbed. Within the last two or three days Gen Cass, the Secretary of State, submitted to the President his opinion that a reinforcement of the garrisons in Charleston Harbour was the imperative duty of the Administration and upon the refusal of the President to concur in that policy, Gen Cass has resigned. His resignation has been accepted and the President thus stands committed to maintain a policy, the advantage of which to South Carolina it is impossible to exaggerate. I have no doubt that the resignation of Gen Cass will be made the subject of universal eulogy at the North and North West and the opportunity be improved for the extremest denunciation of the President. I am satisfied that you will feel with me that such a course on the part of the President deserves the recognition of South Carolina and gives him a claim as far as it can be done consistently with our principles and our interest, that the State should facilitate any honourable accommodation which will avoid collision. It is clear that in a movement like the present it will be impossible to reach any temporary accommodation if both parties stand upon strict logical consequence, there must be a mutual recognition that the position is an anomalous one to be treated with reference to the

²¹ From a press copy, separate from the manuscript of the foregoing narrative. Pickens was inaugurated December 17.

great interests involved rather than to the theoretical consistency of the principles implied.

There is I assume no rational doubt that the Convention of S.C will pass the Ordinance of Secession within a week from its organization. No such doubt exists here—that is considered as an accomplished fact. Upon this occurrence questions demanding immediate solution arise.

1. In reference to U. S. property including the Forts and Garrisons
2. In reference to the execution of the revenue laws
3. In reference to the Postal arrangements.

1. In reference to the Forts and Garrisons I believe that owing to the fact, that the Southern Members of the Cabinet are pledged to resist to resignation any attempt at re-inforcement—that the temper of the President leads him most earnestly as far as his sense of duty will permit to avoid anything that will in the present excited condition of public feeling, provoke conflict—and to the event to which I have referred, that the resignation of the Secretary of State has been accepted because the President would not consent to send more troops into the Harbour, it may safely be inferred that this question is capable of arrangement. But it is scarcely necessary to add that when the resignation of Gen Cass is publicly announced the probability is that a great pressure of Northern opinion will be created for the purpose of forcing the President from the ground which he has taken, clamour which ought not to be allowed to disturb our own public feeling or to force us into precipitate action but which it would be judicious and right to meet by giving to the President whatever support we can under the circumstances.

2. With regard to the revenue laws. It is impossible now to enter into any detail as to these laws but the point to which I would call your attention is that upon the Secession of the State, force need not be resorted to by the Federal Government to produce great confusion and perhaps distress. The resignation of the Collector would by itself if his place were left vacant bring about these results as a cursory inspection of our commercial regulations will shew. I shall only mention one illustration. The Beacon lights and light houses along our coast are Government property and if the Act of Secession prevents their keepers from the discharge of their ordinary duties until that question of proprietorship is settled, they will all go out.

3. The postal regulations. The Post Master General holds that the Ordinance of Secession once passed and notice of that fact communicated to Congress he has no right individually to decide the question but that until it is settled he is bound to continue the Mails wherever there are Post Masters to receive them. If the action of the State or the resignation of the Post Masters, removes the necessary officers he can do nothing because the postal laws require imperatively that no mail shall be *delivered to any but sworn officers of the U.S.*

In view of these difficulties I consulted several Southern Senators whose characters and eminent abilities give weight to their advice.

After a very full and free discussion in which the question submitted was—If South Carolina passes her Ordinance of Secession immediately say within the first week of the session of her Convention—is there a practical and practicable plan of accommodating these difficulties which must arise between the time of her action and the action of other States which shall neither compromise her principles nor her honour. I cannot go now into a detailed account of the very interesting consultation. The result I must briefly indicate. It was this. That the State should pass her Ordinance of Secession definitely clearly and irrevocably declaring the State of South Carolina out of the Union, that then she should appoint a Commissioner or Commissioners to announce to the Government of the U.S. that fact and that they were fully empowered to enter into a Treaty of Arrangement for all points such as public debt, public property etc., etc. And lastly that the Ordinance should state that in order for the orderly and peaceable execution of its provisions all Collectors, Post Masters, Treasury and other officers holding Commissions under the U.S. should be allowed —— days to settle the accounts and close the business of their respective offices, at the end of which time their offices should be considered vacated and abolished.

Whether this period runs with the time allowed the Commissioners or falls short does not make much difference. The Act of Secession is complete, the officers of the Government are allowed such time to settle their accounts etc as would not be denied a dissolving firm and while they are winding up their business the mails could be received, the revenue collected and accounted for and collision thus avoided until the action of other Conventions in January had placed other States in the same position. This plan explains itself so plainly and forcibly that I do not deem it necessary to dwell upon it especially as I have made this letter a longer one than is desirable altho it has seemed to me necessary.

I must therefore defer until another time such information and views as to the general condition of parties and interests here as I wish to submit to your attention.

It is proper to state that in consequence of the resignation of Gen Cass, altho my resignation had been tendered and accepted, I am as a matter of courtesy discharging those duties which belong to the routine of the Department until the appointment of a successor but hope to be entirely relieved by a nomination of a New Sec of State to the Senate on Monday.

I have the honour to be

Sir

Very Respectfully
WM HENRY TRESCOT.

P.S. I must ask your indulgence for a letter written in the midst of constant interruption as you may well suppose under the circumstances but I think it advisable to write by this mail.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The History of Babylonia and Assyria. By HUGO WINCKLER, Ph.D., Professor in the University of Berlin. Translated and edited by JAMES ALEXANDER CRAIG, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature in the University of Michigan. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1907. Pp. xii, 352.)

THE publication of this little work of Professor Winckler comes somewhat as a surprise at this time. It was first written as a contribution to Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte* and published therein in 1899. In very few of the historical sciences has so much water run under the mill as in Assyriology since that date. The demand of the hour would seem to be rather for a new book than for the retranslation of this old one. I have used the word retranslation advisedly, for this portion of Helmolt's big book has already appeared in an English translation in London (Heinemann) and in New York (Dodd, Mead and Company). Professor Craig has now translated it afresh into good vigorous English in a manner far superior to the former translation, and has added some useful and instructive notes. Professor Winckler has also contributed a few corrections and made some additions.

The volume is subdivided into three main divisions: Babylonia, Assyria, and the New Babylonian-Chaldean Kingdom. This method of treatment, while it involves some repetitions, has the advantage of maintaining a certain clearness of distinction between the two peoples, alike in some respects but so different in others, which cannot be easily secured if the strict chronological method be followed. At the conclusion of the first section of the book there is a most interesting and valuable Historical Retrospect and Outlook which discusses, with Winckler's well-known acumen, boldness and originality, the sources, lands, irrigation, the arts, religion and science, commerce, business and industry. At the conclusion of the second section there is a brilliant chapter on the civilization of Assyria. The book as a whole is fairly representative of Winckler's best manner; it is suggestive, full of interesting combinations and much less influenced by astrological theories than the learned author's later work.

When this has all been said it must reluctantly be confessed that it is disappointing. On many points it needs correction already, though it is fresh from the press. Some of these ought perhaps to have been met when the book was printing, and would doubtless have been if the

work had been written by the translator, who perhaps would scarcely feel free to make large changes without consulting the author. I may perhaps venture to point out a few places in which readers of the book would do well to introduce marginal corrections.

In the account of Sargon I. is this statement: "He records that in an expedition which lasted for three years he conquered regions beyond the sea. We do not know whether he here refers only to Cyprus, but the conquest would appear to have been more far reaching than that." It is now quite certain (King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, p. 36) that Sargon did not cross the sea of the West at all, but rather the sea of the East (Persian Gulf) and so did not reach Cyprus or any other far western point. The whole of chapter VIII. in the first section of the book is now superseded. In this chapter Winckler discusses the so-called second dynasty of Babylon which, as is now known, did not reign in Babylon at all but was contemporaneous with the first dynasty. This makes it necessary to reduce the first dynasty so that, for example, Hammurabi instead of being placed at 2267-2213 B. C. must now be set down at about 1950 B. C. This is a correction of considerable importance, and might have been introduced into the book. I have marked other minor matters which might call for comment in an extended notice. The book has indeed its uses, but I cannot but feel that Professor Craig, an able and accurate scholar, would have served better the aim that he had in view, if he had written an entirely new book over his own name.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

Life in the Homeric Age. By THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR, Hillhouse Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in Yale University. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xvi, 704.)

FROM our long surfeit of Homeric theory it is a relief to turn to the simple facts of Homeric life. Here is what we may confidently hail as the best book on Homer in the English language; and yet its bibliography of a hundred titles does not include Wolf or Lachmann, Nitzsche or Fick. Questions of origin whether ethnological or literary are very properly waived; and the author seeks "to set forth with regard to Homeric antiquities simply what may be learned from the poems themselves, with such illustration as is obvious or naturally presented from other sources". At the same time, the author's own attitude toward these questions is defined at some length in the introduction. The spade of Schliemann and his successors having laid bare a sufficient historical basis for the Homeric story, "we may believe that Troy was sacked about 1200 B. C. by an expedition from Hellas under the leadership of the king of Mycenae—whatever may have been his name and the cause of the war. . . . That the names of Ilium and Dardanians are historical seems probable. Priam and Hector, too, may be real persons."

Assuming such historical basis, the *Iliad* should have been begun within a century or so after the war, while the events were still fresh in the public mind. "The early elements of the poems may be as old as the close of the second millennium B. C." But "some parts of the poems may be two or even three centuries older than others." Yet a great poem implies a great poet; and the stamp of a great personality seems to lie upon each of the great poems. Apparent sutures may be due to the rhapsode in adapting his recitation to the occasion and the audience, so that the poems were rather "sung to pieces" than composed separately and then stitched together. In any case, the "poems have such unity as cannot easily be explained if they are the work of several poets"; and, without going the length of Andrew Lang in championing that unity and even insisting on a pre-Phœnician written text, the conclusion is that "at present, and for the chief questions before us, we are obliged to accept the Homeric poems as units."

Further, Homer is not an archaeologist composing a species of historical novel and carefully avoiding anachronisms; but while dealing with the traditional events of a greater foretime he reflects the custom and complexion of his own age. Apparent inconsistencies there are; but the general consistency in a picture of life even more complete than that drawn from the more voluminous Old Testament, far outweighs them. And this is the more remarkable considering how rarely the poet stops to paint a picture (as that of Alkinoos's palace and garden), while leaving us—and this is his usual method—to put together our picture of the rudeness of Odysseus's house from a dozen incidental touches scattered through seven books of the *Odyssey*. Naturally, the poet idealizes his age, as all poets do; golden goblets may not have been used so freely as the poems would lead us to suppose. Yet he still falls short of the great foretime which, as the royal tombs of Mycenæ have taught us, indulged in gold-studded swords and golden garters whereas the poet contents himself with silver in these uses.

Coming now to the body of the book, we find it a well-nigh exhaustive digest of the Homeric subject-matter in eighteen chapters—Cosmogony and Geography; the State; Women and the Family (including Education and Recreation); Dress and Decoration; House and Furniture; Property; Slavery and Servitude; Trade and the Crafts; Sea Life and Ships; Agriculture, Plants and Trees; Animals, etc.; Olympus and the Gods; Hades and his Realm; Temples, Worship and Divination; the Troad; Homeric War; Homeric Arms.

We can touch but a few points in this wide range. Our author's attitude is everywhere judicial; he never chooses the old for its age or the new for its novelty. He cannot follow M. Bérard in his minute chart of the wanderings of Odysseus to the isle of Calypso outside the straits of Gibraltar (illustrated by photographs of the Oxen of the Sun) nor can he accept M. Champault's Phœnician-Phæaciens. All that belongs to a Wonderland in which the Wanderer again and again "sails:

for an unspecified time in an unspecified direction"; and "we need not be more definite than Homer himself." But the claims of Leukas to be the true Ithaca are admirably stated, with an evident leaning to Doerpfeld's theory. On the Triphylian site of Nestor's Pylos, which Strabo argued convincingly and Doerpfeld is now reported to have practically settled, he is less pronounced. From this chapter one should turn to those on the Troad and Homeric War which show first-hand study of the topography of Troy.

The Homeric state is a very simple affair. "Indeed the government was the king." Yet Odysseus leaves Ithaca twenty years without a regent, council or assembly; but the people by simply doing what is right in their own eyes get on very well. So Agamemnon leaves merely a minstrel to care for his wife; and all goes well until the bard is "removed and slain by Aegisthus" (marooned rather, as the poet tells us). Sparta gets on as it may for seventeen years without king, queen or regent. One cannot read this just and luminous chapter without recognizing in germ the best elements of Hellenic democracy.

The women of Homer have been often praised, as in the dithyrambics of Symonds, but never more justly appraised than here. Their superior position is not to be accounted for by any theory of a matriarchate in early Greece. Could it have been due to Aeolian influence? That race could boast of Sappho, Erinna and Corinna; and there was clearly a close connection between epic poetry and the Aeolians. Judging from Sappho's career, Fick's Lesbian Homer might have found the women about him enjoying much of the freedom and dignity with which he invests his own heroines.

Homer's men are able eaters but not hard drinkers. But three instances of actual drunkenness occur in the story, and each with disastrous consequences. Still, wine increases the strength of a weary man, as Hecuba assures Hector; and a posset of Pramnian with goat's cheese and barley meal is relished by the wounded leech, Machaon, as well as by Nestor. The ritual use of barleycorns is a survival of a "parched corn stage of culture" never anywhere quite outgrown—witness the women of Salamis parching their corn with oars, and Ruth eating parched corn from the hand of Boaz, and Robinson Crusoe and the American pioneer. These pages on the evolution of bread, the "marrow of men", happily illustrate the author's handling as well as the intrinsic interest of the simple life depicted. With it may well be read the story of the corn from the ploughing to the winnowing (pp. 331-335).

But we cannot pursue these fascinating themes. Everywhere the book is compact with solid learning lit up by not a little dry wit and racy observation. Less rigid in classification than Buchholz's *Realien* and far less minute, it sets forth the main facts of Homeric life in a far more genial and stimulating way. The author is never wise beyond what is written. He is content to read his facts out of, rather than into,

Homer. Indeed, one could wish he had made more free with the rich store of archaeological illustration ready to his hand. Believing, as he does, that "the life depicted in the poems and that which is indicated by the Mycenaean remains are much closer than was supposed a quarter of a century ago", and that "the study of Mycenaean antiquities has done more than anything else of recent years to throw light on the life of the Homeric age", one would wish every ray of that light to be utilized. Take, for example, the subject of art—certainly no negligible element in the life of any people, but strangely neglected in this work. The Vaphio cups are reproduced in the chapter on Property and the sword-blade with the lion hunt under Homeric Arms, but without a word about the art in either case. Again, while we are told that "Hephaestus makes arms for Achilles" (p. 296), the great shield is nowhere described nor is there any note of its remarkable agreement in materials, technique and design with the inlaid dagger-blades and other Mycenaean works. Again (p. 304), "the Achaeans before Troy had no ivory, but the poet was familiar with it." Yet many of these Achaeans came from Mycenae whose tombs already held store of ivory in various forms, notably in richly carved mirror handles; while many more of them hailed from Knossos whose ivory sculptures now known are miracles of art. Indeed, the head here reproduced to illustrate the Homeric helmet is an ivory sculpture from Mycenae.

Since he has gone to be with Homer, there is hardly left among us the scholar who could safely call in question Seymour's authority in the field of Homeric learning. And in this book he has left us a rich legacy—a companion to Homer that every humanist will prize and the humblest student may profit by. It is the ripe fruit of a devoted scholar's life; and it should keep his memory green as long as the poet whom he knew so well and cherished so fondly is remembered among us.

J. IRVING MANATT.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Die Entwicklung des Deutschen Städtewesens. Von HUGO PREUSS.

Band I. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1906. Pp. xii, 379.)

THE present volume is the first of two in which Dr. Preuss of the University of Berlin proposes to outline and to analyze the evolution of municipal organization and civic functions in Germany from earliest times to the present day. Of these two volumes the first contains a historical survey of organic development; the second will present, the author promises, an outline of the growth of the various important civic functions, treated topically.

The field of German municipal history has indeed been very well exploited during the past half-century; and the student of the subject has already at his service the treatises of von Maurer, Bornak, von Below, Kuntze, Hallman and Sohm, with several others less elaborate.

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There is, in addition, a formidable mass of printed material relating to special fields of German municipal history, as, for example, the administration of the Hanseatic cities, and the municipal reforms of Stein. It has been Dr. Preuss's aim not alone to embody within moderate compass the pith of these comprehensive and detailed studies but to indicate the significance of each advance or reaction in municipal evolution, and to relate each local movement to the general political or economic tendencies of its time. To this end the author has marked off five chronological periods to each of which a chapter of the volume has been allotted. These chapters deal successively with the beginnings of German city administration; the political organization of cities in the Middle Ages with special attention to the Hansa; the municipal system during the era of German national absolutism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the thorough reorganization of civic administration during and after the French Revolution; and, finally, the development of city government in the German states since the time of Stein.

The discussion is throughout comprehensive, concise and suggestive. It is not a mere narrative of historical events concerning the municipalities, but a careful interpretation of them in the light of contemporary political and economic environment; in truth, it might fairly be termed an essay on the philosophy of German municipal history. The writer's thorough mastery of the background of German political and economic history has enabled him to give to much of his narrative a distinctly new and illuminating interpretation, as well as to place in their proper perspective many local movements which have not always been so placed. This is especially true of his excellent chapter on the municipal systems of the absolutist régime; but it is a salient feature of the volume as a whole. Indeed it is precisely this feature that gives the book its chief claim to value.

While the volume, unlike most works of its kind, is entirely unprovided with foot-notes or bibliographical apparatus, the broad scope of the author's study and research, as well as his *häuslicher Fleiss* in condensing the results into readable narrative, are afforded convincing testimony by the text itself. In fact its qualities of proportion, arrangement and style are not least among the merits of the book. When the work reaches completion it will undoubtedly receive due recognition as an important contribution to our knowledge of the subject with which it deals.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO.

The Mongols: A History. By JEREMIAH CURTIN. With a Foreword by THEODORE ROOSEVELT. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1908. Pp. xxvi, 426.)

JEREMIAH CURTIN will live in the memory of students through his many valuable studies of the myths and folk-lore of various peoples of the old and new worlds, while the English-speaking nations owe him a

lasting debt of gratitude for having made known to them by his translations the historical novels of the eminent Polish writer, Sienkiewicz.

The present work, published after Curtin's death, and which, from internal evidence, it seems fair to assume had not reached the final stage of elaboration when the pen fell from the writer's hand, purports to give a history of the rise and fall of Mongol power. This history of the Mongols is, as President Roosevelt justly remarks in his Foreword, "of tremendous importance in world history" and "imperatively necessary to all who would understand the development of Asia and of Eastern Europe".

Curtin begins his history of the Mongols in the ninth century of our era, when the name first appears in Chinese history as that of a small tribe, of Shih-wei race, living in the valleys of the Onon and Kerulun, rivers south of Lake Baikal. Previous writers have gone farther back; they have brought out the close racial connections which united the Mongols with the Turks who ruled and modified Northern Asia and Eastern Europe in the sixth century, and with the still earlier Huns, the Hiung-nu of the Chinese, who played a similar role in the history of Asia centuries before them. Knowledge of these racial connections is necessary to understand how Jinghis Khan could confederate at the beginning of the thirteenth century the then disunited Turkish tribes with the purely Mongol ones related and mixed with them for centuries, and create an autonomous nation, every element of which was animated with the same racial incarnate military spirit, and in some fourteen years found an empire greater in area than that of any conqueror the world has known.

Curtin has brought together many of the facts scattered about in Eastern and Western works, contemporary and modern, necessary for a proper comprehension of this great subject, but time was not given him to co-ordinate and explain them so that the reader can discern the causes which underlie and which brought about the sudden and phenomenal rise of Mongol power, and its likewise sudden and complete collapse. To cite but an example, Curtin tells us in several succeeding chapters of Jinghis Khan's triumphant advance into China, of his destruction of the Kwaresmian Empire, of the campaigns of his generals in Western Asia and Eastern Europe, but we look in vain for some explanation of these phenomenal successes achieved with the comparatively small forces the Mongols put in the field. The cause of the Mongol success was not only that in every element and individual of the nation was embodied the very incarnation of the military spirit, but that Jinghis Khan and his great generals, Djebé, Subutai, Mukhuli and others, had revolutionized the art of war. The Mongol campaign on the Oxus in 1219, León Cahun, a recent writer of Mongol history, remarks, was as regular and as well planned as Napoleon's classical campaign of 1805.

The absence of all references to authorities used, identifications of medieval geographical terms with modern ones, explanations of Oriental words, add considerably to the difficulty of reading this work.

Sir Henry Howorth in the introduction to his exhaustive *History of the Mongols—from the 9th to the 19th Century* has given an account of the sources from which he collected his history, the authorities to which he was indebted. The list covers twelve pages; Mongol, Persian, Arab, Turk, Armenian and Chinese, contemporary European authors and modern writers. Curtin has only made use, so far as I can detect, of some of these authorities, much of the best literature on the subject has not been put to contribution. Thus I cannot find that any use whatever has been made of the admirable *Historia Mongalorum* of Friar John of Pian di Carpine or of the narrative of a mission to the court of Mangu Khan by Friar William of Rubruk.

Notwithstanding the imperfections of this work—for which I repeat I do not think Curtin should be held responsible—it contains so much that is interesting, it preserves so well in many places the peculiar flavor of the Oriental writers from which it has been drawn, and puts before the public the outlines, at least, of an epic of such wonderful interest and which is so little known to us, that we must be thankful that it has seen the light. The Foreword of President Roosevelt brings out in terse and vigorous style the great outlines of Mongol history, it elucidates Curtin's work and fixes the attention of the reader on the points which best deserve it.

W. W. ROCKHILL.

Innocent the Great. An Essay on His Life and Times. By C. H.

C. PIRIE-GORDON, B.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xxiv, 273.)

SINCE it is generally agreed that Innocent III. is the greatest of all popes, it is strange that no English biography of him has before appeared. The author of *Innocent the Great* must therefore be praised for undertaking to furnish something for which there is a place. It is a pity that his work does not fill the place.

The essay is an undigested product, 210 pages long, based principally on secondary works. To be sure the author has examined original materials; he has, for example, compared a manuscript with a printed source (pp. xi-xii), and has thus demonstrated, what is perfectly well known, that the Migne texts are inaccurate. That neither sources nor secondary works were really exploited is patent from the omissions in the short list of "chief works" which the author found useful, since even such important works as Winkelmann's *Philipp von Schwaben* and Else Gütschow's *Innocenz III. und England* (1904) are not mentioned.

The diction of the book is fairly startling by its affectation. It seems as though the author, to quote his words in another connection (p. 108), was "thoroughly infected with Francis Bacon's *Eidola Fori*,—the strange power of words and phrases over the mind . . ." We read of "paparchy" (p. 16), "sabastocracy" (p. 72), "diplarchy" (p. 6). Sultan becomes "Soldan" (p. 60); "John Softsword" is preferred to the more com-

mon John Lackland (p. 33). King "En Peyre" (p. 122) is no other than King Peter; "Levon" of Armenia (p. 180) has hitherto been known as Leo. Such dictionary expressions as "banausically-minded" Venice (p. 64), "euthanasiastic fakirs" (p. 117), the "*scribendi cacoethes*" of Innocent (p. 37), seem quite commonplace when we read that Foulques de Neuilly was a "tolutiloquent fogleman" (p. 61), or that Innocent's predecessors had to cope with "the indignatiunculae of mulierose kings" (p. 102). Capital letters are superabundant. The reason for their frequency is not apparent except that in capitalizing the "pontifical pronoun" the author explains he is following "the traditional usage, now happily reviving" (p. xiii). Every pronoun referring to a pope is capitalized, a practice which results in a ridiculously fine distinction when in the account of Innocent's election the author relates the tradition that a white dove "descended upon his head at the moment of His election" (p. 19).

A more serious criticism of the work is its inaccuracy. "Labbé" (p. xiii) is incorrect; *Hürter* occurs repeatedly (pp. 19, 30 n., 62) instead of Hurter; "Konstanz" and "Cöln" ought at least not to be used on the same page (p. 40). The interdict on France began January, 1200, not September, 1198 (p. 192). Appendix I. especially illustrates the untrustworthiness of the book. The list of cardinals given in this appendix is based on Ciacconius-Oldoinus and Cristofori. Had the author consulted the later and more authoritative Eubel, *Hierarchia*, or even used Gams more scientifically, he would have identified Guillaume de Blois and Guillaume de Champagne instead of having the same man occupy two cardinalates (p. 211); and he would have perceived that Egidio Pierleoni whom he erroneously notes as cardinal-deacon of D. Nicholas in *Carcere Tulliano* in 1198 (p. 213) is the same as Wido Pierleoni who, he states, was created cardinal-deacon of the above title in 1205 (p. 215).

This appendix is only part of sixty pages of similar matter which encumbers the book. There are ten pages filled with a list of "principal contemporary princes and prelates mentioned in the text" (pp. xv-xxiii). Of the eight well-arranged genealogical tables scattered through the book none except that of the House of Conti is particularly relevant. Appendix VI. "does not pretend to be anything more than a very brief epitome of the voluminous correspondence of the Lord Innocent. At most it hopes to illustrate—the meticulous and unwearying attention which He accorded to all matters—which came into His pontifical purview" (p. 235). The effort expended upon it was misapplied; the student cannot depend on such a table, and the lay reader has no use for it.

Appendix IV., a translation of Innocent's sermon at his own consecration, is the oasis in the desert; it does more to make one feel the personality of the great pontiff than anything else in the book. But Innocent's personality appealed to our author less than did his heraldic

device, if one may judge from the characteristic flourish with which the book ends (p. 210). "So passed out of this life the Most Holy Lord Innocent the Third, in the fifty-sixth year of His age, and the nineteenth of His reign as God's Vicegerent upon earth. And He bore Arms, of His Tusculan House of Conti di Segni, *gules, an argent-headed eagle displayed chequy sable and or, orientally crowned of the last.*"

EDWARD B. KREHBIEL.

Acta Aragonensia: Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. (1291-1327). In two volumes. Herausgegeben von Dr. HEINRICH FINKE, Professor der Geschichte in Freiburg i. B. (Berlin und Leipzig: Walter Rothschild. 1908. Pp. clxxx, 510; 511-973.)

AMONG the foremost of that notable group of Catholic scholars whose researches have during the past quarter-century so enriched our knowledge of the closing centuries of the Middle Ages is Professor Heinrich Finke, known especially to students of history by his studies relative to that first great international congress of Europe, the reforming Council of Constance. As a foundation for the definitive history of that body which we are some day to have from his pen, he began a dozen years ago, on a scale far more comprehensive than that of the long standard collection of Hermann von der Hardt, the publication, under the title of *Acta Concilii Constantiensis*, of all the extant documents bearing upon the proceedings of the council. It was while laying under tribute the archives of Europe for this great enterprise that Dr. Finke discovered the astonishing wealth of those of the crown of Aragon, at Barcelona. That Aragon, the home, the refuge and the hope of the recalcitrant Benedict XIII., should furnish much for the story of the council was indeed not strange; but when, in the spring of 1901, his gleaning for that task complete, the historian found himself with leisure still upon his hands and gave rein to his collector's zeal, he stumbled on a harvest more surprising.

It has been the grief of the medieval historian that his sources permit no such insight into motive and character as do those of modern history. His men and women flit across the stage like shadows or stalk it stiffly as mere types—the knight, the monk, the lady, the prelate. It is only when the gossip reports of the envoys of Venice give flesh and blood to the actors in the drama of politics that the pen of a Ranke is tempted to interpret it in terms of human purpose and effort. But it was precisely such a series of diplomatic relations, almost comparable to those of the Venetians in fullness and in freedom, which now revealed itself to the astonished Dr. Finke in the Aragonese archives; and that not alone for the fifteenth century, but from the end of the thirteenth onward. At a time when, in the rest of Europe, the archives of

sovereigns were just beginning to take on systematic organization, those of Aragon were already gathering and storing records with a ripe activity, and not more for the affairs of her kings at home than for their dealings with all the world. Provençal more than Spanish by speech and literature and feudal ties, her princes had from the twelfth century found themselves in the very vortex of Christian politics. In the thirteenth the marriage with the heiress of the Hohenstaufen had broadened their interests to Italy and the Orient and had quickened their watch of pope and of Saracen. At the opening of the fourteenth the numerous progeny of Jayme of Aragon opened to him a career as a father-in-law comparable to that of Rudolf of Hapsburg in the generation before his own or that of the late King of Denmark in ours; and, in particular, the wedding of his daughter Isabella to Frederic the Handsome, the Hapsburg claimant to the German throne, brought him into closest touch with the affairs of central Europe. And Jayme himself, son of a Hohenstaufen mother and spouse of an Angevin wife, with a love of pen and ink worthy of a descendant of the troubadour Alfonso and an ancestor of the scribbling Philip II. brought to this breadth of international relations a zeal in correspondence and a system in the direction of his envoys and the preservation of their reports which make his diplomatic archives without a parallel in the Middle Ages.

The earliest fruit of Professor Finke's discovery was his well-documented *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII.: Funde und Forschungen*, published in 1902, which threw so new and brilliant a light on the personality not only of that pontiff himself, but on that of his strange theologian-physician, Arnold of Villanova. In 1904 his Salzburg address before the German historians (later printed in the Austrian *Mitteilungen* under the title of *Zur Charakteristik Philipps des Schönen*) brought the Aragonese archives to bear upon the yet more problematic character of the pope's great antagonist, Philip of France. Their wealth of material on the *cause célèbre* of the suppression of the Templars he found enough for two volumes, lately published. But all this has only cleared the ground for his more comprehensive *Acta Aragonensia*, to whose selection he has devoted a half-dozen successive vacation sojourns in Barcelona, and which he believes to embody the most interesting contents of all King Jayme's royal correspondence.

It is, indeed, only a selection—of the more than sixteen thousand *cartas reales diplomáticas* some six hundred only are here printed, though hundreds more are laid under contribution for the introductions and notes—but it is the selection of a trained and thorough eye. "Scarcely a prominent name of the Age of Dante", boasts Dr. Finke with justice, "is here unmentioned." Leaving Spanish affairs for Spanish scholars, he restricts himself almost wholly to what concerns the world at large. The kernel of the collection is formed by the diplomatic reports from the papal court; and first of all, filling two hundred pages and more, are printed those whose chief worth is for

papal history. These are most abundant for the period preceding the death of Boniface VIII. (1290-1304), a few deal with the brief pontificate of Benedict XI. and with the election of Clement V., then comes a wide gap, and all the rest have to do with the electoral struggle which ended in the choice of John XXII. There follow a couple of hundred pages throwing light on the affairs of Germany and of the emperors during the long reign of Jayme; then sixty on those of France close the first volume. A full half of the second is devoted to the politics of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, a chapter to Jayme's relations with the Christian Orient, three to the relations of the Roman see to state and church in Aragon, with glimpses into the ecclesiastical life of Aragon itself and notably into its Inquisition, while the closing two bring tidings of her scholars, her university, her art, her literature.

To the whole Professor Finke has prefixed two notable contributions of his own: an essay of a hundred pages on *Das Urkundenwesen unter Jayme II.*, which is far our best account of the Aragonese chancery and archives, and one almost as long on Jayme's diplomatic system and his other sources of foreign intelligence. Now that this task is done, he promises us speedily the completion of his books—both proceedings and history—on the Council of Constance.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494.

By M. MARGARET NEWETT, B.A. (Manchester: University Press. 1907. Pp. vii, 427.)

THIS is a deeply interesting record, not merely of a Syrian pilgrimage, but of Mediterranean life, and of the experiences of an intelligent Italian gentleman at the close of the Middle Ages—two years after the discovery of America. It would not be easy to find a more graphic picture, in old days, of a voyage from Venice to the Levant, or of the miseries, insults and extortions suffered by Christian pilgrims of the post-Crusading time, in their dealings with those "cruel mastiffs and raging dogs", the triumphant Moslems of the Mameluke empire. Casola's sense of humor (he finds the Old Man of the Faith in Jerusalem a picturesque personage, worth looking at "besides the faith"), his capacity for taking care of himself ("to fare better, I never left the captain": "I supported the captain, because even on land, he paid my expenses"), his success in escaping *mal-de-mer* ("the sea did not upset my stomach, like many others"), all furnish diverting touches to this delightful narrative. Upon the editing much trouble has been spent; yet perhaps the picture would have been even better if the painter had taken more pains. A careful revision might have averted some mistakes in detail, infelicities of style and vagaries of printing and punctuation. Thus in the first sentence of note 80 (p. 387), the placing of the commas hardly aids the sense; on p. 2, Madame de Chitrow is surely

Madame de Khitrovo, the well-known editor of the *Itinéraires Russes* for the Société de l'Orient Latin; the treatment of *missa sicca* on p. 373, and of the Roman missal on p. 349, seems hardly sufficient; and the suggestion on p. 3 that the great work of Friar Odoric of Pordenone is a narrative of a Palestine pilgrimage, is based on misconception. Odoric's *De Terra Sancta* is almost certainly spurious, while his undoubted *magnum opus*, the *Descriptio Orientalium Partium*, never touches the Holy Land. The references to earlier medieval pilgrimages on pp. 5-6 are inadequate, if anything of an account, however summary, is intended; and if it is merely two or three examples which are desired, the selection is not representative or happy. The notice of Antoninus of Placentia shows perhaps less familiarity than could be wished with a chapter of history not unconnected with Casola's work. Antoninus Martyr's *De Locis Sanctis* is not merely "mentioned by Tobler", but is edited by him in *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (1877, pp. 90-138), as well as by Gildemeister (1889); it is a tract of greater importance and celebrity than Miss Newett's allusion would suggest. Why, again, do we have Tholomarij on certain pages (*e. g.*, 60, 88-89, III, etc.) and Tholomarii on others (*e. g.*, 61), "Bragadino after the terrible tortures, was flayed", and similar oddities? And in citing Hakluyt's great collection, with the italicized title which implies precision, is it not better to quote it as the *Principal Navigations*, rather than as *Voyages and Discoveries*? On the other hand, warm praise must be given to the sketch (as it is too modestly called) of Venetian legislation upon pilgrim passenger-transport, to the whole account of the organization of this pilgrimage-system in Casola's day, to the summary of our pilgrim's life and writings and to many of the notes, at the end of this volume, upon people and places mentioned in Casola's narrative. Among other advisers the editor especially acknowledges her debt to Professor Tout, whose skilful aid was well bestowed upon a study thoroughly deserving of a place in the publications of Manchester University.

Weltgeschichte der Neuzeit. In two volumes. Von DIETRICH SCHÄFER. (Berlin: E. S. Mittler and Son. 1907. Pp. viii, 381; vii, 418.)

THIS work is a history of the world from about 1500 to the present time. In selecting his title Professor Schäfer has made it clear that he is not writing a *Weltgeschichte* in the older and more commonly accepted sense of the term. He does not begin with the history of Sumer and Akkad and trace in chronological sequence the progress of civilization through Greece, Rome and the Middle Ages to the founding of the modern German Empire. He interprets "world history" to mean a history of the world geographically considered, a history, that is, of a period no more remote than the era of discovery and colonization, when the world, as we know it to-day, first came to the knowledge of

men. *Weltgeschichte der Neuzeit* is, therefore, the history of the development and interrelation of the different peoples and nations of both hemispheres during the last four hundred years, presented with regard for the unity and continuity of the subject and with the purpose of explaining the conditions from which have sprung the ideas and institutions of the present time. The author believes that such a story should be told by a single writer, who alone can give the proportion and perspective the subject demands and can present a definite point of view and adhere to it consistently. Manifestly such a history can be little more than a work of co-ordination, containing a rapid survey of the events in Europe and America since the time of Columbus.

Were this all that Professor Schäfer has tried to accomplish, his work would call for little further comment than the statement that it is accurate and trustworthy. In his introduction, however, he presents another motive that has influenced him, a motive which is perhaps the most interesting and suggestive portion of his work. He has written this history for the purpose of educating the German people in higher historical ideals and in a better appreciation of themselves. He wishes to arouse in the minds of German readers a truer understanding of the meaning and significance of history and a more just conception of the place that Germany occupies in the world of to-day.

He criticizes his fellow Germans in three important particulars. In the first place, he thinks that German historical work has become so far specialized as to be in danger of deteriorating into mere antiquarianism; and he is impressed with the fact that German historical writers are displaying in their productions a lack of historical insight, comprehension and judgment. In the second place, he believes that the average German's idea of world-history is radically wrong, in that it views the past in order to glorify the present and to magnify the part which Germany has played in the upbuilding of her empire. He reminds his compatriots that such a patriotic motive is working an injury to German standards in that it blinds the German people to the real problems which world-history has to offer. He wishes to show that since the founding of the empire so many new conditions have appeared as to demand an entire shifting of the point of view and that unless the Germans read the lesson aright they run the risk of losing their prestige among the nations. In the third place, he reminds his readers that the Germans are the youngest of modern peoples and that others older than themselves have developed more highly the sense of national unity. He sees many forces at work to-day in the empire which are weakening the bonds of German unity and thinks that the German people will be living a life of self-deception if they believe that they are superior to or even equal to other nations in this particular. To check the current of this belief he has endeavored in his work to present a fair-minded and well-proportioned account of the history of modern times. He is not confident that he has attained the ideal he has set before himself, but if

his effort prove unsuccessful, the failure, he declares, will be due to the difficulties of the task and not to any lack of desire on his own part.

Professor Schäfer has succeeded to no considerable degree and shows a mental detachment from Continental prejudices that is unusual in a German writer of contemporary history. His attitude toward England, France, Austria and Russia is remarkably just and honorable. Of the United States he speaks with high appreciation; he justly values her size, appreciates her power and her ideals and even respects the Monroe doctrine. But he does not permit us to become unduly elated, for he disposes of our national history in about twenty-five pages, ten fewer than he devotes to the history of the Germanic Confederation from 1830 to 1848. Such treatment is, however, better than we have been led to expect in the past from German annuals and year-books. The Müller-Wippermann *Geschichte der Gegenwart* used to allot to the United States from half a page to seven pages and to Germany from 175 to 215 pages in its yearly record of events; in the *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*, written before 1888 but recently translated and in part rewritten and published as *A History of All Nations*, the United States scarcely found mention. During the last decade, however, Germany has found reason to believe that some portions of our history are worth considering. This is an interesting fact, but it is more interesting that a German historian should be found who is willing to make such a frank acknowledgment as is contained in this work of his country's shortcomings in historical writing and interpretation.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Factors in Modern History. By A. F. POLLARD, M.A., Professor of Constitutional History in University College, London. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. xi, 287.)

HAVING established for himself a reputation in the field of Reformation history, by a number of brilliant monographs on sixteenth century subjects and characters in England and on the Continent, Professor Pollard comes before the public with a work of a less special nature—a collection of eleven lectures dealing with a variety of different topics ranging from Nationality to the Study of History in the University of London. The title *Factors in Modern History* is, however, too inclusive and somewhat misleading: the book deals primarily with British affairs, and though clever and illuminating comparisons with Continental men and events are liberally scattered throughout its pages, the reader will be disappointed if he expects to find more than these. The topics chosen for discussion, moreover, fall, for the most part, in the period of the Tudors and Stuarts; the eighteenth century is dealt with meagrely, the nineteenth not at all.

Like everything that proceeds from Mr. Pollard's pen, the present book is vigorous and stimulating. Familiar facts are presented in

original ways. The reader is sure to be interested, and when he does not agree, to be irresistibly impelled to an attempt at refutation; and this is high praise for any lecturer. The book abounds in apt and forcible illustrations. There is some exaggeration. To say that there was "as much justification" for the executions of More and Fisher as for that of Campion (p. 113) or that "there is no greater error than to think that [the Reformation] had anything to do with political liberty" (p. 70), is too much. And there are many sentences, which if strictly verbally correct, certainly convey a wrong impression; *e. g.*, the statement on page 111 that for "fourteen years" after 1515 Henry VIII. "tried to govern without Parliament", which is to ignore the session of 1523, or the words at the top of page 255, which would imply that Connecticut was not in the New England Confederation. There are, moreover, some definite misstatements of facts; as for instance, that Louisiana was French "about the middle of the seventeenth century" (p. 241), or (p. 81) that "only four English dukes" lived in the reign of Henry VIII. (there were five: two Howards, Brandon, Stafford and Fitzroy).

One of the most interesting lectures in the book is the eighth—entitled Church and State in England and Scotland—which ascribes the divergence between the two nations up to the end of the seventeenth century primarily to the fact that the former was Erastian and the latter theocratic, and their final union in 1707 to the decline of the theological and the rise of the latitudinarian and commercial spirit evident in both. Noteworthy also are chapters iv. and v., in which Professor Pollard returns with undiminished vigor to the somewhat revolutionary ideas concerning Henry VIII.'s dealings with his parliaments which he first enunciated in his admirable life of that monarch (published in 1902 and again in 1905)—dealings which he maintains to have been much less tyrannical and corrupt than is usually supposed. Some of the statements in his earlier works have been considerably modified, others have been strengthened by comparison with the methods of other Tudor sovereigns, but the net effect of his contention in both books is the same. Those who are interested in the discussion of this important subject will look forward with eagerness to the publication of Professor Pollard's forthcoming work on England, 1547-1603, in the series of Messrs. Hunt and Poole, in which he will have an opportunity, which we trust he will not leave unimproved, to treat Henrician parliaments retrospectively in comparison with those of Elizabeth.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

History of the People of the Netherlands. By PETRUS JOHANNES BLOK, Professor of Dutch History in the University of Leyden. Translated by OSCAR A. BIERSTADT. Part IV. *Frederick Henry, John De Witt, William III.* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. v, 566.)

By promise, this volume in translation is penultimate. It includes matter condensed as well as rendered from the Dutch text of volumes IV. and V. The honors belong notably to Mr. Oscar A. Bierstadt, who has given us a narrative in free, flowing and idiomatic English. Having tested the work in a number of places, by comparison with the Dutch text, we believe that the English version gains in force, clearness and interest by Mr. Bierstadt's renderings and judicious omissions. These latter are purely matters that concern the question of good English, or of justifiable terseness; for rarely has any statement of historical rather than rhetorical value been omitted. With most of the notes, the usual chapter in the appendix on the sources of Netherlands history (in this case from 1621 to 1702) has been retained. There are three colored maps, one of the Netherlands in 1648 and one in 1702, showing the ever-shifting boundaries of the agglomeration called the Netherlands, with one map of the North Sea and the English Channel, showing the location of the chief events in the naval wars, and a good index. This apparatus affords the scholar valuable guidance, for Dr. Blok's many years of research have covered the archives in other countries than his own and he seems to be abreast of their modern historical literature.

Dutch history, as read or written by foreigners, suffers from disproportionate treatment. To the average reader, though probably not to most students, the time covered by this volume forms the most interesting era in the evolution of the Dutch people, for it is that of the "Golden Age", when art, science, discovery, exploration, invention, wealth and comfort were at their height. The two-fold struggle, between the centralizing and decentralizing forces and between the Calvinists and Arminians, was over and the age of healthy unification in state and of Rembrandt's might in art had come. Dr. Blok limns in clear outline and touches with firm hand the pictures of Frederick Henry, De Groot and other greater or minor characters, making a brilliant panorama of a prosperous and happy people. Yet one seems to miss the colossal figures of William, Barneveldt and Maurice. The chapter on the United Netherlands in 1640 reveals the fact that while toleration was neither perfect nor had reached the point of full religious liberty, yet the Netherlands led the world in freedom of conscience. The career of John De Witt, sublime in its purity and vigor, shows clearly how much the Republic still bore the marks of the limitations suffered in its origin.

Though this volume treats so largely of political history, it is the political history of the people, while liberal space is granted also to other

utterances of the popular life. Notably is this true in those chapters which tell of the preparations for the great coalition which William III. was to direct. We learn how and why one-half of the army of William III. in England were Huguenots, and why even to-day fifty per cent. of Leyden's population are of the same stock. After a clear description of the movements, in the coalition war, of England's Dutch deliverer of 1688, and an account of his last years, the volume closes with a brilliant chapter on the commercial situation and the life of the people at the end of the seventeenth century.

Since this volume treats of events which are more familiar to most of us, and of Holland's relation to the great powers of France and England, we are glad that Professor Blok shows throughout great judicial poise. His work is on the whole admirable. It is especially interesting to those who would know something of the actual history and life in the home-land of the early New Netherlanders, their thought and enterprises, fears and hopes, their religious and intellectual inheritances and sympathies. More than any other of Dr. Blok's volumes this one lives up to its title.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

Letters and Papers of Charles, Lord Barham, Admiral of the Red Squadron, 1758-1813. Volume I. Edited by Sir JOHN KNOX LAUGHTON, M.A., D.Litt. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, Volume XXXII.] (Printed for the Society. 1907. Pp. lxvi, 422, 4.)

THE present volume of Lord Barham's papers contains only those relating to the period when he was plain Captain Middleton (1758-1787), and is valuable rather because it contains letters from celebrated naval commanders of the time, or from men closely associated with them, than because of the few letters written by himself. Here one finds letters from Sir Samuel, afterwards Lord Hood, with enclosures from Campbell, Carleton, Digby, Galvez, Graves, Pigot, Prescott, Rodney and Prince William Henry. There are letters from Joseph Hunt, Sir George Rodney, Sir Charles Douglas, Captain Kempenfelt, Admiral Barrington and from one Captain Walter Young, who is quite unknown to fame, but whose intimate relations with Rodney give to his letters an interest second to none in the volume. The larger part of the interest of these letters belongs to the war in American and West Indian waters during and immediately following the American Revolution. The letters of Young, Rodney's flag captain, and of Hood, throw much new light on Rodney's campaigns. Hood's well-known criticisms of Rodney's vanity and greed, of his want of energy, decision and self-restraint, are corroborated by Young's criticisms, which are only in part vitiated by the fact that in some instances Young attributes to himself (pp. 65-66) certain strokes of Rodney's "genius". The Guichen and Rodney naval contest of April 12, 1780, is here described (pp. 53-55,

101-107) with greater detail and precision than ever before. Rodney's failure to crush Guichen on that occasion is plainly shown to have been due to the former's failure to make his instructions to the captains of the fleet plainly understood. It is hardly possible that he could have been clear when *all* misunderstood. An interesting light is also thrown upon Arbuthnot's mutinous reception of Rodney, when the latter appeared off Sandy Hook in September, 1780. Young thinks it was largely due to the rascality of Arbuthnot's secretary (p. 81) and he makes specific charges. The Hood letters are complementary to those already published by the Naval Records Society in volume III. of their publications. The most important of these relate to the skirmish off Chesapeake Bay, September 5, 1781, which left Cornwallis no alternative but to surrender. They show the British commander's complete ignorance of DeGrasse's plans which is easily explained by the fact that he did not fix them until the very last, and then in direct opposition to his earlier ideas.

One of the most important facts impressed upon the student by these letters is the erroneousness of the idea that the French naval power in the West Indies was broken completely by the famous victory of Rodney, April 12, 1782.

The editorial work of Professor Laughton is admirable. There is a good index, and some interesting court-martial records are printed in the appendixes.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Die Polnischen Provinzen Russlands unter Katharina II. in den Jahren 1772-1782. Versuch einer Darstellung der Anfänglichen Beziehungen der Russischen Regierung zu ihren Polnischen Untertanen. Von U. L. LEHTONEN. Aus dem Finnischen Original übersetzt von GUSTAV SCHMIDT. (Berlin: George Reimer. 1907. Pp. xxxvii, 634.)

THIS study of the relations between the government of Russia and its Polish subjects after the first partition of Poland is the work of a Finnish scholar. It is clear, systematic, scientific and impartial. The author has used in carrying out his task the Russian archives at St. Petersburg and the German archives at Berlin. In addition, he has gone through all the published sources and all the most important secondary works, including publications in Russian, and in German particularly, but without neglecting French and Polish books, and using at least one book in the English language. He declares that he regrets his inability to make as much use as might be desirable of Polish works, but thinks that as his essential object was to describe the measures of the Russian government no important errors have resulted. He is undoubtedly right.

The book is divided into two parts, the first of which is devoted to a consideration of the most important causes for the downfall of Poland. It is an excellent exposition of these causes, going thoroughly but succinctly into the subjects of the social classes in Poland; the religious situation; the trade and commerce of the country; its economic condition; its lack of order and security; its lawlessness; its divided and disorganized government; its want of good roads; its system of taxes. The author shows conclusively that the responsibility for all the difficulties in Poland lay primarily in the character and the policy of the nobility, who made it impossible to create an efficient centralized government, who oppressed the peasantry and who were responsible for the intolerance in religious matters which played so important a part in the ruin of the country.

We have in the second and much the larger part of the book a detailed account of the work of the Russian government in attempting to apply Russian governmental methods and the Russian system of government to the Polish provinces. The writer presents a minute and painstaking description of the new methods and institutions introduced, and shows clearly their superiority over those previously existing. He concludes that White Russia was the gainer by annexation in respect to the condition of the peasantry, of the Jews, of the middle classes, and in regard to public buildings, roads and bridges, the administration of justice, the security of property, the system of taxes and, above all, internal tranquillity. There was no attempt to exploit the conquered lands and their administration was at least on an equality with that existing elsewhere in Russia.

The reader is impressed as he proceeds with the energy, the insight, the seriousness, the common-sense and the devotion to duty which characterize Katherine II. as the head of the Russian state. It is a phase of Katherine's character not commonly brought out, and certainly not with the fullness and particularity here displayed. It is true, of course, that Katherine's efforts in White Russia, as elsewhere, were only partially successful, but it is also plain that she was not guilty, as frequently supposed, of attempting the impossible, of being misled as a consequence of holding eighteenth-century views on the nature of man and of institutions. She attempted more than she could do, but she did much of what she attempted, and the greatest of statesmen resembled her in these respects. There was too much haste both on her part and on that of her subordinates, and the task was too great to be settled rapidly. Lehtonen's dispassionate description of what was attempted makes this clear, while it reveals how thoroughly under benevolent despotism the government becomes little more than a gigantic business machine controlling the lives of its subjects in every relation.

Lehtonen displays remarkable skill in his character sketches of the men who were the instruments of the great empress in carrying out her plans in the Polish provinces. Especially good is his portrait of

Chernisheff. He and his assistants were men of gigantic abilities and of gigantic vices. Whatever success was gained was due in large measure to their abilities; whatever failure came was due in an even greater measure to their vices. It is true that Katherine used the best instruments she had, and that White Russia suffered in no greater degree than did the rest of Russia from the shortcomings of its rulers.

A grave danger in writing Russian history is that of depending too fully upon state papers, and upon the letters and the memorials of the parties interested. But Lehtonen has guarded carefully against falling into this error. Though he builds upon the letters, instructions and memorials of the principal actors, he does not neglect the accounts of travellers and the memoirs and letters of people not directly interested in the government. In these he finds material which leads him to modify conclusions which follow from the reading of the state papers only. He weighs the differing views carefully and judicially, and comes to his own conclusions.

An excellent bibliography of the principal secondary books on the subject is affixed to the work. RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

Taine, Historien de la Révolution Française. Par A. AULARD, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1907. Pp. xi, 333.)

THIS volume is a reprint of the articles that appeared in the *Révolution Française* in the years 1906 and 1907. The addition of a Conclusion gives a finish to the book that one missed in the articles, and sums up the results of the investigation touching the value of Taine's *Origines*, or at least the first four volumes of that work, as a history of the French Revolution.

To a few specialists upon the French Revolution, it has for a long time been no secret that Taine enjoyed a reputation that he did not deserve, but even to those who knew from personal investigation the worthlessness of this famous work in some detail, the revelations of Aulard concerning its general worthlessness as a history will come with something of a shock. Aulard's volume is one of the most exhaustive and destructive pieces of historical criticism that, to my knowledge, has been produced upon the period of the French Revolution. Probably no living man but Aulard was capable of writing it. His knowledge of the sources, both printed and manuscript, is so extensive, his mastery of the established facts and their meaning so great that the task of criticizing Taine's work presented but one serious problem, namely, how to formulate the results of the investigation.

After an introductory chapter in which Taine's early career as a writer, his credulous and uncritical temper and the circumstances under which he conceived and executed his project of writing a history of the Revolution are described—mostly from Taine's own letters and journals—Aulard examines the four volumes, chapter by chapter, treating

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the questions of investigation, criticism and synthesis in a masterly manner. The criticism though is so destructive that before the task is half done one feels inclined to call a halt out of pity for the victim. It is a reflection upon historical scholarship, both in Europe and in this country, that a work of this uncritical character should have acquired and maintained so long the reputation that it enjoys to-day even among historians. The explanation is probably found in the fact that Taine deceived himself before he deceived others. He had the poorest kind of natural equipment for historical work, being credulous to a degree that is seldom encountered in a man of his reputation, and the situation was rendered even worse by the lack of all scientific training in historical research and historical criticism. The temerity with which he plunged into his work, the brief period of time devoted to his investigations for the various volumes, are almost inconceivable. Aulard's ruthless criticism shows that his investigations in the archives were almost farcical. Out of hundreds of cartons, in a series, he examined but one or two, here and there; of the thousand or more (1777) of documents in a certain series, one of the most important for his work, he consulted but twenty-six. Of the printed sources, he used chiefly the *mémoires* and the letters of foreigners, for the most part hostile to the Revolution. Of the great mass of newspapers, he made use only of the *Moniteur* and the *Mercure*. He seems to have been unacquainted with the *procès-verbaux* of the assemblies. Not only is his documentation pitifully meagre, but he uses his sources in the most uncritical manner. "The document did not talk to him, but he talked to the document all the time." Inexact references, inexact and garbled quotations, statements of fact based solely on a worthless affirmation of a contemporary writer, generalizations based upon evidence limited in quantity and of questionable value, a synthesis that knows neither time nor place, but constructs a mosaic from material drawn from different regions and different ages, that leaves out of account such an all important fact as the revolutionary wars, these are the defects of Taine's *monumental* work that are demonstrated by Aulard in over three hundred pages of detailed criticism. One closes the book with a feeling of profound respect for Aulard's critical scholarship and of regret that he should have been compelled to devote so much of his time to such negative work.

FRED MORROW FLING.

Napoleon. A History of the Art of War, from the Beginning of the French Revolution to the End of the Eighteenth Century, with a Detailed Account of the Wars of the French Revolution. In four volumes. Volumes III. and IV. By THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE, U. S. A. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1907. Pp. xv, 747; ix, 808.)

THE last two volumes of Colonel Dodge's *Napoleon* are a distinct

improvement over the first two; and the manner in which the diminution of the physical energy and relentless vigor in following up to the very end every advantage gained, together with the ever-growing self-deception and egotism which brought about the downfall of the greatest of all strategists is traced through its varying stages, is admirably done. According to the author's postulate, "the great captain's equipment consists of intellect, character and opportunity, each to an exceptional degree and all working together" (III. 474) and he demonstrates conclusively that whenever any of these traits becomes impaired to a material extent the master-hand must necessarily lose its grasp and fall below its normal standard, if not end by being overwhelmed by circumstances over which absolute control could otherwise have been maintained. Napoleon himself epitomized the case perfectly when he wrote on September 26, 1797, to Talleyrand, the Minister of Exterior Relations: "All great events hang always only by a hair. The able man profits by everything, neglects nothing at all which may yield him some chances more. The less able man, sometimes by neglecting a single one of these, makes everything fail" (IV. 93).

Basing his argument on the hypothesis that "Napoleon can be measured only by himself" (IV. 562), the author declares—and there can be no doubt of his correctness—that in 1805 and 1806 Napoleon's "intellectual force and vigor of character and clearness of vision may be said to have been at their highest" (III. 653), and he lays particular emphasis on the maxim contained in the order sent to Soult at 10 p. m. on December 3, 1805, the day after Austerlitz, the most decisive battle of modern times. In this despatch Berthier wrote at Napoleon's dictation, "The Emperor will personally stick to the heels of the enemy. His opinion is that in war nothing has been done so long as something yet remains to be done; no victory is complete so long as one can do more" (IV. 594).

Such was the standard which Napoleon set for himself and by which he must be judged, although after 1805 even he was compelled to acknowledge that "One has only a certain time for war; I will be good for it six years more, after that even I must cry halt" (III. 329).

The third volume of Colonel Dodge's work opens with the operations in Spain, where, in 1808, Napoleon "conducted a beautiful campaign on a clearly thought out plan, and successful apparently at all points" (III. 125), which contrasted strongly with the subsequent lamentable failures of his marshals when left to their own devices, thus proving the truth of Napoleon's assertion that "in war men are nothing; it is a man who is all" (III. 55) and demonstrating that his adversaries did not overrate his genius in the appellation of the "The Hundred Thousand Man" (IV. 681). The dual personality of Napoleon the Captain and Napoleon the Emperor then began to appear, the latter militating more with each successive year against the former, as the author shows, and illustrating potently the proverb of Frederick the Great that "he who seeks to hold everything will end by losing everything" (IV. 281).

Although the Five Days' Campaign of Eckmühl—of which Napoleon was proudest—showed the great captain at his best, he failed to pursue the defeated Austrians after they crossed the Danube at Ratisbon with the relentless vigor he would have employed in his earlier campaigns, was checked at Aspern and Essling, and was compelled to put forth his mightiest efforts to escape defeat at Wagram where he again failed to follow up and annihilate the archduke (III. 217–328). Purely military wisdom ought to have made him return instantly to Spain, but, as Colonel Dodge aptly says, “from 1809 his old sense of perspective, of the relative values of things on a grand scale, had begun to weaken” (IV. 411), “he was unwilling or unable to exert himself as he had formerly been wont to do” (III. 259) and “with ever growing love of comfort . . . he disliked the kind of struggle which a great victory would not end. He was no longer acting on military grounds, and his natural impatience was growing of things which did not work his way” (III. 380). Underrating Wellington (III. 424), he most unwisely attempted to dictate operations from a distance (III. 349) and one must agree with the author that “it is hard to conceive how the great soldier could have been so blind as not to consolidate the forces in Spain and thus oblige his lieutenants to work together, on the constant theory that, when you have beaten the main force of the enemy, other things will take care of themselves. This had through life been his strongest principle, and yet in Spain he ‘saw too many things at once’, and ‘striving to keep everything, he thereby lost everything’” (IV. 474).

In the Campaign of Russia, Colonel Dodge asserts, “it is not so much a fact that Napoleon undertook too gigantic a task for his power at its best, as it is that he did not show in its doing his ancient power of body and character” and “had he used his opportunities in 1812 with the judgment and energy of 1805, the armies of Barclay and Bagration would have been destroyed in July, and a glorious peace have ended the operations before the Grand Army had reached Smolensk” (III. 428). But his belief in his own invincibility and his insatiate craving to dominate the political world were permitted to outweigh military wisdom, an *ignis fatuus* lured him on to Moscow only to vanish there, and the awful retreat, culminating in the utter ruin of his mightiest army, furnished a pitiful example of the dire straits to which even the greatest general of modern times can be reduced.

The Campaign of Germany “does not exhibit the great captain to advantage” (IV. 198), not only because the grasping egotist often overcame the military genius but insomuch as his operations were “weakened by his no longer commanding the veterans of 1805 and 1806, nor indeed being himself the same man. It was not only his physique which years of hard work and self-indulgence had sapped, his force of character had equally suffered. . . . Along with his capacity for bodily exertion, his moral courage had shrunk, and . . . instead of pushing home relentlessly, he sought the line of least resistance” (IV.

84-85). "There was a certain loss of moral energy in the man himself"; "he was wearing out" (IV. 92, 93). "He was on longer conducting war as he had taught his enemies to do it" (IV. 229). "He was continually conceiving brilliant manoeuvres, and never putting any of them to use. Instead of keeping the allies at a distance, he unconcernedly sat down in worthless Dresden and waited for them to surround him. And in going to Leipsic to fight a battle, he deliberately committed strategic suicide" (IV. 240).

Leipzig proved his undoing which is by no means surprising since, as the author pertinently remarks, "history narrates but one brilliant victory gained by an army fighting with a river at its back—Cannae", where Hannibal rose far superior to Napoleon in 1813 (IV. 261). Yet it was the latter who charges us to remember that "Fortune is a woman; if you fail her to-day, look not to find her to-morrow" (III. 507).

The Campaign of France showed Napoleon flashing forth scarcely one whit less brilliant than in 1796, 1797, at Ulm and Austerlitz, in spite of the fact that his "habit of deceiving himself had grown to fatal proportions, and his judgment had deteriorated every year. . . . His plans were founded on estimates and assumptions the like of which scarce one of the generals he had beaten in the past was capable of equaling in absurdity. . . . And yet, when it came to action, Napoleon was never more like himself than in this memorable campaign. It is all like a strange case of mental aberration" (IV. 325).

The inevitable end is thus admirably summarized: "The French people . . . had been crushed by its awful sacrifices, and was no longer willing to abet a continuance of the never-ending wars. Up to a certain point Napoleon's wars had been justifiable; but of late years they had been a drain to France and a menace to Europe. His breaking up of nationalities ran counter to all the tendencies of the age, and this was being recognized as much at home as abroad. . . . He had no conception of the depth of the feeling that he was the arch-disturber of European peace and must be put an end to. . . . While every soldier wonders at his audacity and skill, the student of character must equally wonder at the Emperor's utter cecity" (IV. 401).

At the opening of the operations in 1815, "his mind remained as alert and searching as it ever was" (IV. 517) and the campaign "was planned with as exquisite skill as any of Napoleon's masterpieces; neither Ulm nor Jena was better. But its conduct, like that of the three previous campaigns, fell short of Napoleonic perfection, and, better than any other, it illustrates how, from the days of Wagram, the great captain had fallen from his high estate" (IV. 520).

The failure to see that both Quatre Bras and Ligny were seized on June 15 and the fatal procrastination of the sixteenth and seventeenth were far from in keeping with "the leader who, in the days of Castiglione, rode to a standstill five of the best horses that could be found in Italy, or who called on his lieutenants for two days' work in one—and

got it" (IV. 567), or the indefatigable general of whom Prince Adam Czartoryski wrote in April, 1806, that "Bonaparte is the only man in Europe who knows the value of time." As for the battle itself, the impartial student can scarcely fail to agree with Colonel Dodge that "most of the faults committed at Waterloo—and they were grave—were Ney's faults, due to Napoleon's want of supervision" (IV. 659) and that "the campaign of Waterloo was lost by Napoleon's laxness" (IV. 612).

There is a wealth of detail in Colonel Dodge's volumes concerning every branch of the Napoleonic armies which will not be found in any other work in English and his descriptions of the various campaigns are excellent—indeed with the exception of those which quote *in extenso* the orders and reports of Eckmühl, we know none better than he gives of those astonishing operations. He emphasizes admirably the defects of the training of the marshals, which made them far too dependent upon the Emperor and rendered them incapable of rising to the difficulties of the situations he was wont to create, as well as Napoleon's error in failing to employ both Davout and Soult in their proper capacities in 1813, 1814 and 1815. Attention is properly called to the insufficient organization of the so-called General Staff and the varying efficiency of the systems of supply.

The maps not infrequently leave something to be desired, and, as in the opening volumes, it is a pity that more care was not exercised to make the spelling of the names agree with that of the text. The tables and appendixes at the end of volume IV. form a most valuable adjunct to the work, and have been compiled with herculean labor. To the military student they are teeming with interest, particularly appendix D, entitled Some Noteworthy Marches, where the reader will discover such astonishing feats as the march of the Imperial Guard from Paris to Osnaburg in thirteen days in September, 1806, covering 435 miles at the rate of thirty-three miles a day. Appendix F contains a partial list of authorities from which information has been derived, but it would have been preferable had they been classified according to the chapters to which they relate, as in Fournier's *Napoleon*, rather than arranged alphabetically in accordance to surnames. The final chapter on Early Military Critics gives a succinct estimate of the works of Bülow, Jomini and Napoleon, while the preceding chapter on the Man and Soldier contains a most admirable résumé of this unique character and contrasts him with Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, Gustavus Adolphus and Frederick the Great. In summing up the great Corsican, the author pithily remarks that "Napoleon carries us to the highest plane of genius and power and success, and then declines. We begin by feeling that here is indeed the greatest of the captains, and we end by recognizing that he has not acted out his part" (IV. 717). One other paragraph epitomizes the greatest of all strategists admirably: "As a captain he had what rarely coexists,—an equally clear head on

the map and in the field. On the map he was able in both theory and practice. His theories are text-books; his letters are treatises. No higher praise can be spoken than to say that every one of his campaigns was, in a military sense, properly planned. It is he who collated all that was done by the other great captains, clothed it in a dress fit for our own days, and taught the modern world how to make war in perfect form" (IV. 713).

Taken as a whole, this work constitutes an invaluable addition to military literature; certainly there is nothing else in English possessing the same scope and exhaustiveness, and, perhaps, it is not too much to say that the student may search every other language in vain for a general military history of the most consummate of the great captains which is better than Colonel Dodge's *Napoleon*.

FREDERIC LOUIS HUIDEKOPER.

The Political History of England. Edited by WILLIAM HUNT, D.Litt., and REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A. Volume XII. *The History of England during the Reign of Victoria (1837-1901)*. By SIDNEY LOW, M.A., Fellow of King's College, London, and LLOYD C. SANDERS, B.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xviii, 532.)

To the authors of the twelfth volume of the *Political History of England* is assigned the whole of the long reign of Queen Victoria—sixty-four years. When Dr. Hunt and Mr. Poole laid out the plan of the history and compressed this long and crowded period into a single volume, it is evident that in approaching modern times, they considered it better to have simply a compendium of events with little or no opportunity for the expression of opinions or ideas that might lead to controversy. This is the only reasonable explanation of the fact that this volume should cover a longer period than any previous volume of the *History* since volume IV., which ends with the death of Richard III., in 1485. As a colorless record of events and a clear elucidation of the history of parties and of political developments in England during the last half of the nineteenth century, the work of Messrs. Low and Sanders is completely successful, and, as a book of reference of this character, it has no rival in the field. No earlier writer of any standing had made a similar attempt to produce in one volume a complete and reliable history of the Victorian era in England. Of the two histories of any account that had previously appeared—Mr. Herbert Paul's *Modern England* and Sir Spencer Walpole's eight volumes of English history in the nineteenth century—neither covers the whole period, nor can claim to be unbiassed. Dr. Franck Bright's text-books probably come nearest to the work of Messrs. Low and Sanders; but they stop short at 1880, and, being written chiefly for students preparing for examinations, lack something of the scholarly character that attaches to the history under review.

The work of condensation was the more arduous on account of the enormous volume of material available. For no other period does there exist the store of newspaper files, Parliamentary papers, Hansards, collected speeches, memoirs, biographies, diaries and letters, which Messrs. Low and Sanders have so faithfully consulted. Unfortunately the authors had completed their work before the appearance of Queen Victoria's *Letters*—a work of such importance to the writers of English history that it may almost be said that it necessitates the rewriting of all history written before its appearance. The *Memoirs* of Baron Stockmar and Sir Theodore Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort* though having something of the same point of view give but an adumbration of the flood of light that the queen's correspondence sheds upon English politics, and upon the bungling conduct of affairs in the years when Russell, Aberdeen and Palmerston were contending for the premiership. While Messrs. Low and Sanders have been singularly successful in their attempt to write without party bias, it must not be supposed that they have succeeded entirely in the impossible task of concealing their conservative point of view. This is shown not only in the estimates of men and policies; but also in the amount of space given to some of the great Liberal movements of the reign. Trade-unions and labor representation in Parliament are little more than mentioned, although the first labor member took his seat in the House of Commons in 1868 and the number of labor representatives in Parliament rose within Queen Victoria's reign to seventeen. The work of the Nonconformists in liberalizing England, in regard to religious and church matters, is not given its full due; and the Salvation Army is treated in the tone commonly adopted towards it by English churchmen in the early eighties. The co-operative movement, which has revolutionized both wholesale and retail trade in the north of England and the Midlands, is not even mentioned; and only three lines are given to the movement for municipal ownership, which during the queen's reign transformed every town and city in England and gave to each a business-like and enterprising municipal government. Limitations of space may be pleaded in respect to these shortcomings; but it can hardly be said that these movements and developments are of less account to the student of political history than the conduct of wars or the making and unmaking of cabinets. The most valuable part of Messrs. Low and Sanders's history is that treating of political parties and Parliamentary developments in the first twenty years of the queen's reign. So excellent, so lucid and so skilful is the treatment of the intricate political situations and the confusions of parties during the years when Melbourne, Peel, Russell, Derby, Palmerston and Aberdeen were the political leaders, that the student must regret that the plan of the history did not permit the writers to devote the whole of their 500 pages to the first half of Queen Victoria's long reign, allowing another volume of equal size for the years from the opening of the new era of democracy in 1868 to 1901.

Two maps at the end of the volume give at a glance the redistribution in county and borough representation effected by Gladstone's Redistribution Act of 1885, which was the complement of the Reform Act of 1832 under which the rural laborer was for the first time enabled to cast a vote. Another excellent map shows the expansion of the British Empire between 1837 and 1901. A useful feature of the volume as a book of reference is the table of the cabinets of Queen Victoria. This table is so arranged as to show the fluctuations as to cabinet rank of the holders of certain offices. The Postmaster-General, for example, was a cabinet minister during just about half of the queen's reign, and it frequently happened that in the same administration the Postmaster-General was not continuously a member of the cabinet. The section on authorities which is compiled in accordance with the plan adopted at the outset of the *Political History* is of great value to students. Though its critical treatment of the sources is of the briefest, it is pertinent and illuminating; and in spite of the omission of many works that might have been mentioned, it must be acknowledged to be both comprehensive and fairly exhaustive.

A. G. PORRITT.

The Letters of Queen Victoria. A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence between the Years 1837 and 1861. In three volumes. Edited by ARTHUR CHRISTOPHER BENSON, M.A., and Viscount ESHER, G.C.V.O., K.C.B. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xix, 641; xiv, 575; xi, 657.)

FROM the point of view of students of English political history and also of the politics of Continental Europe of the middle years of the nineteenth century, it is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of this first installment of Queen Victoria's letters. The editors in their preface intimate that in making their selections from the letters, which belong to the period between the queen's accession in 1837 and the death of the prince consort in 1861, their purpose was to publish such letters as would bring out the queen's character and disposition. Their aim, they add, was to produce a book for the British people rather than to make a special appeal to the students of political history. By their selection the editors have raised a monument to the queen's capability, her sincerity, her sense of the duties and responsibilities of the sovereign, and her great moral worth. They have also given the world a book which must long overtop in historical importance any British political memoirs that have issued from the press. The queen's letters stand alone. They are in a class by themselves; and they must continue to hold their unique position in the political literature of England at least until the *Letters of George III.*, equally well edited and on a correspondingly large scale, are at last made available for students of British and American history.

It is indicative of the newer attitude towards political biography and

memoirs that so little delay has attended the publication of these volumes; and that the memoirs of Grey, Beaconsfield and Salisbury are now the only ones lacking to complete the authentic memoirs of the British prime ministers of the nineteenth century. For the period covered by these *Letters*, the memoir of Lord Derby is the only one that has not been published. The memoirs of Wellington, Peel, Melbourne, Palmerston, Russell, Aberdeen, Herbert, Granville, Argyll and Gladstone are all concerned with the period between 1837 and 1861, although up to 1861 six only of these statesmen had served as prime ministers. These memoirs, and many more of men who did not reach the highest rank among British statesmen, are supplemented by the *Letters of Queen Victoria*. Concerning Melbourne, Peel, Palmerston, Russell, Aberdeen and Derby, there is such a flood of new light on their characters, that much of the political history of England in the nineteenth century will now need revision.

Of the six prime ministers of the first third of the queen's reign Peel alone has his fame enhanced by the publication of these letters. Melbourne wilfully set the queen in hostility to Peel and the Tories who were in opposition when the new reign began. As is shown by his correspondence with Queen Victoria he deliberately created the difficulty in connection with the Ladies of the Bedchamber that resulted in Peel's failure to form an administration in 1839, and he thereby secured a further lease of life for his ministry. As unfolded in these letters, there can be few more discreditable intrigues in English politics of the nineteenth century than Melbourne's method of bringing about Peel's failure in 1839. But in May, 1841, Melbourne was again defeated in the House of Commons, and Peel was able to form an administration. Peel was in power until June, 1846. He was prime minister for five years. He was responsible for the greatest fiscal revolution of the nineteenth century. Notwithstanding the dread which the queen had felt at the incoming of Peel and the Tories—a dread for which Melbourne was chiefly responsible—and in spite of the fact that Melbourne contrary to the spirit of the constitution continued a confidential correspondence on state matters with the queen long after he had ceased to be prime minister, Peel quickly won the queen's confidence and esteem. The queen herself in 1899 admitted that she had been in the wrong in the Bedchamber question in 1839, and the correspondence which passed between the queen and Peel between 1841 and 1846, in conjunction with her high estimate of him, cannot fail to strengthen his position as the greatest British statesmen of the queen's long reign.

In all that goes to make a statesman, Peel in these pages, as in the *Hansards*, easily towers above Melbourne, Palmerston, Russell, Aberdeen and Derby. Palmerston's fame must suffer as much from the publication of the queen's letters as Melbourne's. They show him to have been without political principles—a politician who might just as easily have served at the head of a Tory as of a Whig administration.

He was overbearing and discourteous to the queen; and he was long one of the severest trials of the queen's political life. He was disloyal to his colleagues of the cabinet, as witness his rejoicing in private that the House of Lords had thrown out the bill for the abolition of the paper duties, although that bill was a government measure—an important part of the financial legislation of 1860, which Gladstone, his Chancellor of the Exchequer had carried by narrow majorities through the House of Commons. Ability is never denied to Palmerston, and he assiduously devoted himself to public business. But the impression left by his correspondence with the queen—a correspondence in which at times he was unwarrantably pert and flippant—is that he was a misfit in a country governed by Parliament, cabinet and the crown; and it is not difficult to understand why the third Earl Grey and other men in the front rank in politics hesitated or even refused to be associated with him in an administration. Russell, in these pages, is unstable and sometimes a schemer with vulgar aims of self-advancement; while of the amiable and easy-going Aberdeen, who was at the head of the coalition government that drifted into the Crimean War, and only just managed to blunder through it, his worth as a statesman, in a country famous for its commerce and industry, may be judged from the fact that he was too indolent to make up his mind whether protection was a right or a wrong policy, and he told his intimate friends that he had no convictions either way, because he could not understand the subject. Queen Victoria's reign is the most memorable in English history; but if Peel is excepted, it cannot be said that much of the glory was due to the premiers who served the queen between 1837 and 1861.

Next to the light which the *Letters* throw on the statesmen of the first twenty years of the reign, the *Letters* are valuable for the information with which they are heavily freighted concerning the relations of the cabinet to the crown. The letters and the memoranda prepared by the queen or the prince consort at each cabinet crisis bring out these relations in their constitutional aspects. Memoirs of cabinet ministers, published during the last thirty or forty years, had already furnished some insight into the relations of ministers to the sovereign; so had the constitutional histories. But in these *Letters of Queen Victoria* the relations of the sovereign to the cabinet, Parliament, the diplomatic service, the army and the navy, the church and the civil service, are for the first time set forth from the point of view of the sovereign. The same is true as regards the prerogative; for the queen was jealous of the prerogative; alert to repel any threatened invasion of it; and in her correspondence with her ministers, there is much that will serve to illuminate English constitutional history.

One of the remarkable revelations of these letters is the small degree to which the aristocratic classes were dislodged from political power by the Reform Act of 1832. It has been commonly accepted that middle-class influence was dominant in the elections to the House of Commons

from 1832 to 1867. There are few traces in these letters of the revolution which the Reform Act of 1832 has been held to have effected. Membership of administrations went almost as exclusively to the aristocracy as it had done before 1832, although both political parties at various times during the first twenty years of the queen's reign had difficulty in recruiting men with sufficient ability for public business to constitute their administrations. At one cabinet crisis, when it appeared that a Tory administration must come in, Derby told the queen that he had not men to form an administration. Yet it seldom seemed to occur to the leaders of either party that the middle-class men who supported them in the House of Commons—men who were accustomed to business—had any claim to cabinet rank. Milner Gibson and Matthew Baines were of Whig administrations in the latter part of the period to which these letters belong; but only minor offices were assigned them. The great governing classes of English political tradition were still in full undisputed possession of their kingdom in the twenty years over which these letters extend; but the tradition of their ability, disinterestedness and integrity is sadly damaged by the disclosures of these volumes.

These volumes in no sense constitute a biography of Queen Victoria. They are made up entirely of letters and memoranda; but there is an adequate introduction to them, written by the editors with none of the formality that in the past characterized royal memoirs. The chapters are arranged by years. Each is preceded by a summary of the events of the year, written with much care and sufficiently full to meet the needs of most readers of the *Letters*; and in addition there are foot-notes wherever it seemed expedient to elucidate allusions and references in the text. The editing, in a word, is in keeping with the value and dignity of the work; and the framework ranks with that of Morley's *Life of Gladstone*.

The Roman Journals of Ferdinand Gregorovius (1852-1874).

Edited by FRIEDRICH ALTHAUS and translated from the second German edition by Mrs. GUSTAVUS W. HAMILTON. (London: George Bell and Sons. 1907. Pp. xxiv, 473.)

It is unfortunate that so interesting a diary as that kept by Gregorovius during the period which produced his masterpiece, the *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, should have been so carelessly edited, both in the original German editions of 1892 and 1893, in the Italian translation of 1895 and in this belated English translation of 1907. The gross carelessness in the spelling of proper names, which characterized the German editions, has marred in even greater degree the volume of Mrs. Hamilton, whose ignorance of historical events in modern Italy has also allowed her to fall into unpardonable errors of translation. Thus she designates Atto Vannucci as *Vannuccio*, makes Persano block the French fleet instead of the Neapolitan harbor of

Gaeta in 1861 (p. 122) and places the Italian annexation of Venice, resulting from the Italo-Prussian alliance, in the conditional instead of in the past tense in a journal entry of 1867 (p. 278).

The student of Gregorovius's works will probably be disappointed in the contents of the *Roman Journals*. They give little detail upon the subjects of Gregorovius's medieval studies. Observations upon the state of the different archives in which he worked are scattered here and there, and many dates of the completion of chapters and the despatch of proof to Stuttgart are given, but the diary of this distinctly human historian relates rather to the history that was being made from day to day in Italy and Germany, than to the history which he was himself reconstructing in the archives. For Gregorovius the present served as a commentary upon the past, but it was more; in it was unfolding the sacred struggle for independence and unity in the two countries which he most loved, and his *Journals* are primarily a record of his interest and acute observations in the progress of these two great movements. He loved the Italy of his day, and he understood her as few Germans have done. "I regard the independence of Italy as a sacred national right", he wrote in 1859, "and if every Austrian were my brother, would myself urge the Italians to drive him out." His statements of historical fact recorded from day to day are untrustworthy, except for events of which he was himself an eye-witness, as those of Rome during the Garibaldian expedition of 1867—and these are important; but it is frequently of interest to know the reports of Italian affairs, though false, that were current, particularly in Rome, where most of his life was spent from 1852 to 1874. The annexation of Rome in 1870 was a bitter disappointment to him; the city seemed to lose its cosmopolitan, republican atmosphere as she "sank into becoming the capital of the Italians". Also in these later years Germanism showed a distinct revival in him; after the Prussian victories of 1866, and especially after those of 1870, an unfortunate sense of German superiority frequently manifests itself in his pages, reflecting diminished sympathy for Italy and understanding of her struggles, and foreshadowing the historian's return to the fatherland. But the sincerity of the *Journals* is illustrated by these changes of feeling and of perception. Statements were not altered when they were disproved by subsequent events, and recorded impressions were not altered when in the writer's mind they were supplanted; Gregorovius's views as they were written down from day to day have been faithfully preserved.

H. NELSON GAY.

Contemporary France (1870-1900). By GABRIEL HANOTAUX.

Translated from the French. Volume III., 1874-1877. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. ix, 634.)

THIS entire work, so far as published, and this volume in particular might be cited as a strong argument for the thesis, sometimes put for-

ward, that the best field for the historian is the epoch immediately preceding his own. M. Hanotaux has certainly shown that it is possible to obtain a sufficiently detached point of view so that the narrative will not be distorted or colored by personal feeling.

From the manner of the first two volumes, where Thiers figures as the hero of the first and the Comte de Chambord, though in less degree, as that of the second, it might be expected that Gambetta would be made the hero of the present volume. It is manifest that M. Hanotaux's personal admiration for Gambetta might have led him to treat that statesman as his hero. But the temptation has been resisted. Instead of a hero, we have the constitution of 1875 as the central theme. Its formation and the inauguration of government under it are traced with minute and painstaking accuracy. Such a topic, as the author remarks, is of the highest importance but extremely difficult to handle. On the whole there can be no doubt that the author has here achieved a decided success. It seems equally clear, to the present reviewer at least, that a still greater success would have been achieved if a different arrangement had been followed. Each of the nine chapters, except one which is a commentary on the constitution, is devoted to the narration of all the events which occurred within fixed subdivisions of the period covered by the volume. In accordance with this plan it is frequently necessary to interrupt the account of the evolution of the constitution to relate the history of other matters, especially foreign affairs. In consequence the reader is often forced to lose sight of the central theme and after an interval to return to it. When so short a period is covered and one with so much unity, it would seem altogether better that all matter which would not be treated so as to show a very direct relationship to the central theme, if it must be included, should be reserved for separate chapters after the main subject has been disposed of.

In general this volume has been constructed from published and comparatively well-known materials. Considerable use, however, has been made of the private papers of Decazes and occasionally those of MacMahon. The former enabled the author to furnish an exceedingly interesting and at some points novel account of the war scare of 1875. Supported by two or three positive statements to that effect in contemporary letters of Decazes, he asserts that Hohenlohe also had a share in inspiring the famous *Times* article of May 6, which, by calling the attention of all Europe to the danger, did much to avert it. The contention, however, needs support from some other source before it can be regarded as proven. M. Hanotaux's account of the whole affair leaves the impression that there was a very real danger, despite the German denial, and that war was averted principally through the diplomatic skill of Decazes and the assistance of Alexander II. The account does not present convincing proof that the danger was real, and assuming the existence of the danger, disregards the very plausible explanation offered by Blowitz in his *Memoirs*, an account which the author seems to have overlooked.

The translation shows on the whole an improvement over that of the first two volumes, apparently a new hand being at work. The method, however, is a bad one, and it may well excite wonder that so good a result has been produced. The original has been reduced about five per cent. in bulk by omitting a sentence or two out of about half the paragraphs and by pruning many of the sentences of a clause or two. At the same time a good many of the citations and elucidations contained in the foot-notes of the original have been omitted. At a few points additional paragraphs have been inserted, but without materially enhancing the utility of the work for English readers. The rendering into English is marked by comparatively few downright errors, yet is frequently perplexing. The weakest point is in the matter of political terms. The translator apparently has very little familiarity with English political terminology and is constantly getting homonyms instead of precise equivalents. The proof-reading has been rather carelessly done, especially in the matter of dates.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Professor of History, Harvard University. In twenty-seven volumes. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1904-1908.)

As the various volumes of "The American Nation" have appeared they have been reviewed in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, but the completion of the work is of sufficient importance to warrant the consideration of the series as a whole. That twenty-six volumes by twenty-four different authors have been brought out within six years from the inception of the work and within three years after the publication of the first volume, is of itself a notable achievement. The credit for it is to be ascribed primarily to the untiring energy of the editor, the effects of which have been felt by those in no way connected with the enterprise. The results of this forcing process are evident throughout all the series—more so, somewhat surprisingly, in the later volumes—but the ill effects are more than counterbalanced by the advantage of obtaining a comprehensive treatment of American history that represents contemporary scholarship. It is impossible to say of this as one does of most co-operative histories, that the first volume has become out of date before the last has appeared.

"The principle of the whole series", wrote the editor in his introduction to the first volume, "is that every book shall be written by an expert for laymen; and every volume must therefore stand the double test of accuracy and readableness." In the course of the publication of "The American Nation", the writer of the present review has followed

the criticisms that have been printed, and he has also obtained expressions of personal opinion from different people in different parts of the country upon the merits of the various volumes that make up the series. The specialist generally has been disappointed in the treatment of his particular field, either because it was inadequate and sometimes inaccurate, or because he found in it nothing that was new; but this same critic would grow enthusiastic over some of the volumes outside of his own field; and the layman has been equally enthusiastic over them all. So many volumes by so many different authors must necessarily vary, and vary greatly, by any standards of judgment that may be set up, yet the series as a whole has achieved a somewhat surprising degree of excellence both in readableness and in accuracy, according to the ordinary acceptance of the latter term. It is evident, then, that one great purpose of the work has been accomplished, and the present reviewer would add his testimony as to the usefulness of the series in his own studies, and particularly as to its helpfulness as collateral reading for the classes to which he lectures.

Thus far it has been easy to speak in general terms and of the series as a whole, but the moment one goes farther and considers the history more in detail a difficulty is encountered. It is not that the various books differ in treatment or are of different merit, but it is that the first fifteen volumes present a fairly consecutive and reasonably well-proportioned narrative and the later volumes do not. As a sixteenth volume the editor interpolates an essay on *Slavery and Abolition*, excellent in itself, but destructive of the balance and continuity of the series; then, four volumes upon the Civil War, its causes and its consequences, in spite of the importance and interest attaching to that crisis, seem out of proportion to the treatment of other topics; and the last volumes, except for the editor's concluding summary, are distinctly inadequate, which is doubtless due in part to the nature of their subject and to the limitations of space.

Another question arises, however, and of deeper import, in that it involves the ultimate value of the work that is presented. A somewhat different aspect is put upon the editor's "double test of accuracy and of readableness" by the sentence immediately following: "American history loses nothing in dramatic climax because it is true or because it is truly told." Accuracy and truth are here used as if they were synonymous terms, but are they not in reality very different things? Is not Woodrow Wilson more nearly right when, in his essay "On the Writing of History", he says that "the facts do not of themselves constitute the truth"? Surely there is a world of meaning in his closing sentence, with which he sums up his whole contention: "There is an art of lying; there is equally an art—an infinitely more difficult art—of telling the truth." The question that arises is whether this series really tells the truth regarding American history. It purports to be a history of the American nation: "For this is not intended to be simply a polit-

ical or constitutional history: it must include the social life of the people, their religion, their literature, and their schools. It must include their economic life, occupations, labor systems, and organizations of capital. It must include their wars and their diplomacy, the relations of community with community, and of the nation with other nations." To tell the truth upon such a comprehensive scale is assuredly a difficult task!

The most obvious fact in American history is the expansion of a few thousand colonists fringing the Atlantic coast into a people of nearly a hundred millions occupying the entire central part of the North American continent and holding many outlying possessions. The physical facts of this expansion, that is, the mere acquisition of territory and attendant problems, are well brought out in the entire series, but there is little genuine appreciation of its profound importance in developing American characteristics as well as American character. This expansion is the result of colonization on a scale and with a success that is unrivalled. We are accustomed to say that our colonial system is unique, in that the territories are eventually incorporated as states into the Union. But this is not merely a political fact, for the colonists become an integral part of the parent nation, and become in turn the progenitors of new colonies. If such a process long continues, it is inevitable that in the course of time the colonists should not merely outnumber the parent stock; they will themselves be the nation. Such has been the history of America and the Americans.

If there be an American nation, its basis is the American people, and the American people are a composite of several races and many nationalities. "What is an American?" is the subject which Crèvecoeur took for one of his "Letters", and he answered his own question by saying: "They are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes. From this promiscuous breed, that race, now called Americans, has arisen." He was speaking of his neighbors in the middle colonies, and specifically excepted the "Eastern provinces . . . as being the unmixed descendants of Englishmen". But Crèvecoeur was writing at the time of the Revolution and the process he was observing became more general with the spread of population beyond the Alleghanies and the intermingling of settlers from various sections, until at the present day his remark is true of practically all America. In other words, the mingling of the various ingredients in our composite nationality is the result of a process that has long been at work, and that has been accelerated, indeed made possible, by our expansion. The appreciation of this is fundamental to the understanding of American history, in particular if that history is to be the history of the American nation. Yet one looks in vain for that appreciation in this series. In the last volume, the editor briefly sketches or rather suggests the process of this development, but it is noticeable that his references to the preceding volumes are very few and that they have but little direct bearing.

In the same way, American characteristics are only to be explained

through American expansion. To use again the oft-quoted sentence of Mr. Bryce, "The West may be called the most distinctly American part of America, because the points in which it differs from the East are the points in which America as a whole differs from Europe." This is not a sudden achievement, it is the result of forces constantly in operation since the first colonies were established on the Atlantic seaboard. The scene of action has been the frontier. Again the reviewer notices the recognition of this feature in the editor's closing volume; he wonders if the editor is not responsible also for the insertion, indeed for the emphasizing of the frontier line in various maps of population and settlement scattered through the whole series; but he wonders still more that nearly all of the "associated scholars" fail to mention this subject at all.

It is a pleasure to find in this series, especially in the earlier volumes, little ground for the common charge against American scholarship that it fails to take European conditions sufficiently into account. The reader may take exception to the treatment of certain periods and subjects, but he cannot fail to be impressed by the advances that are being made in the study of European history in the effort rightly to interpret American development. On the other hand it is evident that much of our historical study is still laboring under the disadvantage of being restricted by the Eastern point of view. Even if one be inclined to minimize the importance of the frontier and the West in the earlier part of American history, certain facts in the later period are undeniable. Population beyond the Alleghanies increased at a rapid rate, and from the time when the steamboat was in successful operation on the Western waters, the course of American development was changed. That is, when the "up-stream era of navigation" began, and it became possible to supply the Western settlements through the port of New Orleans, the East turned squarely about and faced the West, for its best efforts were required in the endeavor to preserve the home markets. This happened to coincide with the close of the War of 1812, when domestic manufactures had received a fresh impetus from other causes. But from that moment, he who would write the history of America can no longer do so from the standpoint of Europe or of the Atlantic coast, his viewpoint must be that of one who moved, not with the vanguard, but with the mass of population farther and farther into the West. Possibly his eyes should be more frequently turned towards Eastern centres of commerce and politics, but he should also look and with prophetic vision into the newer regions of the West. American expansion has been the most potent single factor in determining our economic and commercial development, and it has been responsible for many of our greatest political issues.

One or two of the volumes leave little to be desired in their treatment of this phase of American development, but others mention it only incidentally, and evidently with no appreciation of its significance. The

later volumes in particular are disappointing in this respect. It is instructive, though hardly illuminating, to read: "Though the war was so absorbing, the year 1862 was marked by several legislative measures of lasting consequence in civil matters. The most important were the act to secure homesteads to actual settlers; the . . .", etc. But it is a consolation to find that the Homestead Act is also mentioned in the index. Of course, the time has not yet come when the history of America since the Civil War can be finally or even acceptably written, but one could wish for a little more of the point of view that was shown in one of the first announcements of William Garrott Brown's *History of the United States since the Civil War*: "The reconstruction of the southern states . . . cannot be regarded as the foremost event, or series of events, in the period covered by the first volume. Of greater permanent importance was the occupation of the vast region beyond the Mississippi, so that the Pacific Coast became at last our true frontier, and the economic and social changes which this movement of population caused. It was the development of the West, the extension of our railroad system, and particularly the shifting of agriculture westward which made possible our more recent rapid advance to the commanding place which we now hold in production, in commerce, and in diplomacy."

The present reviewer is not holding a brief for the West, he is voicing a plea for a history of the American people, or, if you will, of the American nation. The points upon which he has touched are simply some of the things which he finds more or less lacking in the series under consideration, which was promised to be a "comprehensive work". A paragraph, a page, or even a chapter here and there is not sufficient. It is not recognition that is wanted, it is appreciation, and an appreciation such that these things will be made a vital part of the narrative. Then, and then only, will the truth be told.

The justification for his criticism the reviewer finds in the editor's closing volume of the series. The book is somewhat disconnected and shows evidences of haste in composition; it is not a "summary", nor even a "restatement" of the contents of the previous volumes, for as already shown, much that is here set forth finds little or no support in the rest of the series; but it represents more nearly, than does the series as a whole, the point of view in the study of American history that has recently been pressing into the foreground. In that respect the series is hardly indicative of the best contemporary scholarship, it is rather that of a decade or more ago. With much that is good, and much that is helpful, "The American Nation" is not an epoch-making work, it is rather epoch-marking. Save for an occasional exception, the volumes represent the end of the old and not the beginning of the new history that is being studied and written.

MAX FARRAND.

A History of Slavery in Cuba, 1511 to 1868. By HUBERT H. S. AIMES, Ph.D., of Yale University. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. xi, 298.)

THIS is the second contribution to the general history of Cuba made by an American scholar since 1899. The first was Professor J. M. Callahan's *Cuba and International Relations* with which the present work has certain features in common: both represent extensive, rather than intensive, investigation, and both have largely failed to subordinate the multiplicity of detail to clear and constructive historical exposition. In consequence Professor Aimes's book is many times more scholarly than it is readable.

The work is, on the whole, a valuable addition to Cuban historical writing: it is conscientious and remarkably fair in its judgments of men and events and brings together for the first time some part of the mass of information on the slave-trade in Cuba buried in the British Parliamentary Papers. The following observations aim at pointing out shortcomings in the work rather than at complete characterization of it.

The title is, to a certain extent, a misnomer: the work deals almost exclusively with the slave-trade and only incidentally with the institution of slavery. The author himself explains in his preface: "I have not been able to treat of the domestic slave régime, with which I hope to supplement the contents of this book." But eight short chapters hardly suffice to treat even the slave-trade adequately.

The subject had already been treated in a notable manner up to the year 1818 (and less fully up to about 1838) by José Antonio Saco in his *Historia de la Raza Africana en el Nuevo Mundo*, Tomo I., Barcelona, 1879, and in a posthumous volume, Havana, 1893. The debt of Professor Aimes to this Cuban author is very great, but is nowhere specifically acknowledged, unless by the citation of Saco sixty-one times in the footnotes. Saco's well-reasoned pamphlets in opposition to the slave-trade are scarcely noticed and no reference is made to the writings and efforts of other eminent Cubans, *e. g.*, Felix Varela, José de la Luz y Caballero, Domingo del Monte and José Miguel Angulo y Heredia, to create opinion adverse to slavery and the trade. Other startling shortcomings may be noted: the neglect to give any account of the alleged negro conspiracy of 1844, one of the obscurest and most extraordinary incidents in the history of Cuba, as well as of previous servile uprisings, and the inadequate treatment of the remarkable activities of the British consul-general and superintendent of liberated Africans at Havana, David Turnbull. The author in passing asserts that there actually developed in 1843 and 1844 "a servile conspiracy of extraordinary extent" (page 145), a thing which has by no means been proved. The establishment of the Sociedad Abolicionista Española at Madrid in 1865 is not mentioned and the abolitionist ideas which found expression in Cuba long before 1868 are quite ignored by the author. The great mortality among the slaves caused by the epidemics of cholera in 1833 and 1850 and by epidemics of small-pox is not noted.

Appendix II. contains statistics of slaves imported into Cuba from 1512 to 1865, but the total compiled by Professor Aimes is altogether too small and might be refuted even from his own text. The capture of Havana by the English did not occur in 1763 (page 32), and Tacón was a native of Cartagena, Spain, not of Venezuela (page 121). The Real Sociedad Económica of Havana, which sometimes used alternately the title Real Sociedad Patriótica, figures incorrectly in the text, in the foot-notes and in the bibliography as the "Real Sociedad Patriótica y Económica". The bibliography at the end of the volume abounds in errors and repetitions and several works containing important information on the slave-trade, especially many pamphlets of considerable interest were not consulted, or, at least, are nowhere referred to. Some curious opinions are expressed, *e. g.*, Zaragoza is said to be an "impartial" historian (page 284) and Ferrer de Couto "impartial and reliable" (page 288). Pezuela is also pronounced "impartial" (page 281). The epithet "renegade", which is applied to Narciso López (page 174), should have been avoided.

The author was able to use the "Archivos [*sic*] de Indias" (preface) and he gives a list in his bibliography of thirty-five documents from that archive for which students will be very grateful. But Professor Aimes, though he spent some time in Havana, neglected—and this is unpardonable—to consult the records in the Archivo Nacional at Havana, from which he would have gathered new and precious information at first hand.

Space does not permit any discussion of the author's generalizations or conclusions. They are in the main eminently fair and judicious.

LUIS M. PÉREZ.

History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal. By THOMAS HUGHES. Volume I. *From the First Colonization till 1645.* (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company; Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Company. 1907. Pp. xiv, 655.)

The History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal. By THOMAS HUGHES. Volume I., Part I. *Documents, Nos. 1-140 (1605-1838).* (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company; Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Company. 1908. Pp. xvi, 600.)

WE have here the first portion of a notable work. The Society of Jesus is preparing a "comprehensive historical series, comprising in different languages an authentic account of the Society over the world". During the first century and a half of Jesuit work in the British colonies of North America, that work was a part of the English province and not until the nineteenth century was a separate American province established. Father Hughes is the historian of the American province,

but has also had transferred to his care the history of the Jesuits in the English colonies. It will be noted at once that the title as given above must, therefore, be limited in its connotation, as the scope of the work reviewed does not cover the labors of the Jesuits in Canada, so well treated by Parkman, nor what was done in the Spanish possessions to the south. The number of volumes in which Father Hughes's work will appear is not publicly announced, but we are privately informed that there will probably be six volumes in all. The volume of text which is before us deals entirely with the first few years of the history of the province of Maryland and is provided with remarkably complete critical apparatus. The author is without question a most learned man and a most careful student. His introduction on the sources, archives and literature of his subject is exceedingly valuable, not only to students of American history, but also to those interested in the Jesuits in any land. His bibliography is extensive and shows that he has investigated most of the authorities and that he appreciates the importance of writing history from the sources. Several facsimiles of manuscripts are given, among them one from Father White. It is a curious thing that the handwriting of this facsimile of a letter written in 1606, that of a facsimile of a letter written some years later and given to the Maryland Historical Society by Father Quirk and that of a letter attributed to White, written in 1638 and printed in that society's *Fund Publications*, no. 28, are so dissimilar, that, neither to the reviewer nor to Mr. Henry F. Thompson, who has had much experience in reading seventeenth-century manuscripts, does it seem likely that they are the penmanship of the same man, and that no one of the three is apparently written by the scribe of the Narrative of the Voyage to Maryland in 1634. Maps are also found, one of which, that of St. Mary's City and vicinity, is especially useful, and there is an extensive index. Appendixes discuss: the localities about St. Mary's City; the Indian land-titles, quoting an important opinion of one of the professors at Douay and referring to the similarity of the position of Roger Williams with that of the Maryland Jesuits; and the history of mortmain in England before Henry VIII. From the records of the Society of Jesus, the author has brought out new and important facts, such as the early career of Father White, and one who writes the history of the province of Maryland will always have to reckon with this book, while all previous publications on that history must be corrected by it.

The faithful work of the early missionaries deserves praise and record, and their success in Christianizing the Indians was quite noteworthy. The story of these labors is given here more fully and accurately than ever before. Yet we must complain that, when the book was so well done, it should not have been done much better. The arrangement of matter is often neither clear nor good. The book is made too long by excursions which might have been omitted without injury in any respect to the continuity of the story. The author is

animated by what seems to be a bitter and unreasonable prejudice against Lord Baltimore and his secretary, Lewger, who is spoken of as if a very Mephistopheles. Both of these men were Roman Catholics, yet they are repeatedly referred to in the most scathing terms, because of their opposition to the demands of the Jesuits. In this last respect, the book compares unfavorably with another book which appeared a few months later, also having a Roman Catholic priest for its author, *The Land of the Sanctuary*, by Rev. W. W. Russell. Another defect in the book is a lack of accuracy in the use of technical terms of English law. The author speaks of Baltimore's attempt to "feudalise" Maryland, when, by the charter it was feudal already, and of a demand by the lord proprietary of an oath of allegiance to himself, when an oath of fidelity is clearly meant. He also speaks of Baltimore's failing in an attempt "to impose his tenure in capite on the colony at large", when the charter distinctly says that Maryland is to be held "by free and common socage". This first volume ends with 1645, when the Jesuit mission in Maryland was broken up by Ingle. During the first years of the province's history, an important dispute had occurred between Baltimore and the Jesuits, which has been previously studied by B. T. Johnson and A. P. Dennis. The difficulty seems to have arisen in this way. The lord proprietary, a sagacious, cool, clear-headed man, who was a devout Roman Catholic, received the grant of the province in 1632, immediately after the death of his father, the first Lord Baltimore, for whom the charter was being prepared at the time of his death. The young lord was thus made ruler of an extensive tract of land and, naturally, wished to attract settlers to it. He also wished to allow his coreligionists to reside there unmolested. It was obviously impossible for him to establish a colony, with the Roman Catholic as the state church. Such a course would not only have probably led to a speedy forfeiture of his charter, but also would have seriously limited the number of immigrants he could secure. Most certainly the establishment of any other religion would have imposed severe limitations upon the Roman Catholic settlers, if it had not led to their exclusion from Maryland. His keen-sighted wisdom led him to insist that no religion receive official favor over another, and the policy, which he initiated at the foundation of his province, he continued throughout his life. Probably the majority of the inhabitants of Maryland have always been Protestants from the earliest beginnings. With the first expedition he sent out, went two faithful Jesuits, and the proprietary seems to have intended to entrust the care of the religious interests of the settlers to that society. The Jesuits were very active, laboring to convert the Indians and to bring over the Protestants in Maryland to their faith. The Indians granted the Jesuits land and the latter wished to hold it by virtue of this grant and not under the provincial charter. The Jesuits also thought it a grievance that they were obliged to pay the provincial authorities quit-rents on their land. They objected to making contribu-

tions to the defence of the settlement, by aiding in building a fort and by permitting their servants to perform militia duty. They also wished to be free for themselves and their servants from subjection to the common law in temporal matters. They virtually claimed that, as Maryland was a country ruled by a Roman Catholic prince, *i. e.*, the lord proprietary, they were entitled to privileges such as they received in Roman Catholic countries and to be governed according to the rules of canon law. Baltimore was so offended by these claims that he applied to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith for permission to remove the Jesuits and substitute secular priests for them. This petition led to the sending of two secular priests to the province and to the issuance by Baltimore of the Conditions of Plantation of 1641, by which it was declared that "no corporation, society, fraternity, municipality, political body (whether it be ecclesiastical or temporal)" is allowed to hold lands, in their own right or that of others without "special license first had" from the proprietary. On receipt of these Conditions, Lewger called on the "religious men" and as a result the Jesuits wrote to the provincial of England asking a number of questions as to their course of action. Father More, the provincial, was of a conciliatory disposition and gave Baltimore a certificate that the Conditions of Plantation would not cause him or any of his officers to be subject to excommunication. The claim of right to receive land directly from the Indians was given up by the Jesuits. It was admitted that ecclesiastics were bound by the laws of the province and that the clergy had no more rights in Maryland than were granted to such persons in England. The Jesuits having yielded, the secular priests were recalled and the Jesuits were permitted to remain in charge of work among the settlers and Indians. In the judgment of Father Hughes, Baltimore was wrong, both in his determination and in the means he used to accomplish it. To us, however, such a conclusion of the dispute seems a wise one and the value to the Jesuits of Baltimore's support is seen from the fact that, as soon as Ingle drove out the proprietary's officials, he burned the Jesuit's houses and carried off two of the clergymen to England, so that the mission was broken up for the time. When the Puritans gained power in 1655, the Jesuits again lost their liberties, and the long repression of the Roman Catholics in Maryland during the eighteenth century shows also how much they owed to the fact that the proprietary had been a conscientious member of their church in the seventeenth century.

It is to be regretted that Father Hughes has made himself so violent a partizan of his society against a man who had no motive to play the rôle of a hypocrite and whose whole career shows him to have been remarkably free from unworthy motives.

The papers in the volume of documents are dated from 1605 to about 1830. The careful and exhaustive scholarship of the author is shown here in as complete a manner as in the volume of history. The arrange-

ment of material is rather complicated and at times is hard to follow, especially as the portion of the historical narrative which many of these documents is meant to elucidate has not yet appeared. The texts are given in the language in which they were originally written, without translation, but with both head, side and foot-notes which explain the meaning to a certain extent. Where the document seemed unimportant it is not printed in full, but the less essential portions are given in an English abstract printed in Italics. When one sees the Italian, French and Latin letters which are furnished us, he realizes the need of linguistic equipment for a student of American history. One appreciates the fact that Latin is scarcely a dead language in any true sense when he finds Archbishop Marechal writing of "clarissimum R. B. Taney, qui inter juris peritos nostros longe eminet". The first section, comprising 200 pages, "forms the documentary apparatus corresponding to the first volume of text", but covers a much longer period than is included in that volume. After a few preliminary documents, we are given "letters written by the General of the Order and bearing on American affairs from 1629 to 1774". In these letters we find interesting glimpses, such as that of the attitude of the order towards Baltimore and his secretary, of whom it is said: "bibisse aquam turbidam de via Aegypti et imbutum esse dogmatibus parum sanis"; that of Thomas Percy, who made an unauthorized return from Maryland and was thought to be deranged; and that of Thomas Bradford, who, after making an equally unauthorized start for Maryland, was captured by the Moors and carried to Tunis. Following these letters, we are given the Annual Letters, beginning with the famous *Relatio Itineris*. Next come some important texts on the dispute with Lord Baltimore, concluding with a report to Rome of interviews with the proprietary in 1669. The remainder of the book is divided into two parts. The former of these traces the history of the landed property of the Jesuits, in Maryland and Pennsylvania, from the earliest times. Owing to the prohibition of gifts to religious corporations, the Jesuits in Maryland suffered from one serious disadvantage. Property had to be given or left to members of the order, individually, and the testamentary dispositions by which they devised the lands to other members form a curious story. After the Jesuits were suppressed in 1773, the ex-Jesuits in Maryland held their properties, faithfully, for the religious uses for which they were intended. In 1793, they obtained an act of incorporation from the Maryland legislature and, under this charter, the lands were thenceforth held. Among the interesting sidelights cast by the papers here printed, is that which reveals the method of working the plantations with slaves and the humane treatment of these negroes by the Jesuits.

The last portion of the book is concerned with a bitter controversy between Archbishop Marechal and the Jesuits, lasting from 1820 to 1826. The first two occupants of the see of Baltimore, Carroll and Neale, had

been Maryland Jesuits before their elevation to the episcopate, and seem to have had little difficulty with the order. But Marechal was a French Sulpician and, shortly after his consecration in 1817, troubles arose which lasted practically down to his death in 1828. The properties of the order had furnished a pension for his predecessors. He demanded that the White Marsh Plantation of the Jesuits be given him for his support and when the Jesuits refused this demand and also refused to render him the obedience on which he insisted, he carried the matter to Rome and secured a decree from the pope in his favor. The Jesuits evaded compliance with this decree for a time and, finally, the society in Rome offered to pay Marechal 200 dollars per quarter during his life. He accepted this, but insisted that he had done so for himself and his successors. There were additional causes of friction between the Jesuits and the other Roman Catholics. A misunderstanding had arisen, just before Marechal came to the see, about the transfer of ground from the Jesuits as a site for the new cathedral in Baltimore, and a church which was erected at Upper Marlborough was left unopened for a time, because it had been given to the Jesuits and they would not hold it in trust as Marechal desired. In this struggle between the archbishop and the order, the correspondence, which Father Hughes rightly calls "interminable in its repetitions and dimensions", abounds in sharp language, showing how earnest were the antagonists and how bitter was their feeling towards each other. Archbishop Marechal writes, for example, of his opponents as "religiosis virtutibus omnino destituti", as "coeca ambitione abrepti", as "facinoris authores". We shall await with interest Father Hughes's treatment of this controversy, concerning which he has so fully printed the material. BERNARD C. STEINER.

The History of New France. Volume I. By MARC LESCARBOT. With an English Translation, Notes and Appendices by W. L. GRANT, M.A., and an Introduction by H. P. BIGGAR, B.Litt. (Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1907. Pp. xxi, 331.)

LESCARBOT'S *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, published in 1609 with later editions in 1612 and 1618, though comprised in six books consists essentially of two parts—first, a narrative of the French explorations in America down to the author's time, compiled from various accessible sources and substantially without any original matter, and second, a description of the events, scenes, Indian manners and customs, animal and plant productions observed by Lescarbot during a year's residence in Acadia, this part having a high, even though somewhat local, historical value and interest. In the present volume we have a translation, the first into English, of books I. and II., which embrace the voyages down to, but not including, Cartier; and the remainder is to appear later in two additional volumes. An introduction, by Mr. Biggar, gives briefly and clearly the little that is known of Lescarbot's life, of his personal connection with New France and of the *motif* of his book. Then the

translator, Mr. Grant, describes the method and the aim of the translation, the various accessory materials and some further details of consequence, including a promise of two new documents in the third volume. There follows the translation of the first two books, made from the edition of 1618, immediately after which is an exact reprint, in smaller type, of the corresponding French original. And the volume closes with a reproduction of two of Lescarbot's maps, to which are added modern maps of the same places. This part of Lescarbot's work, being purely a compilation from printed sources, would have slight historical value were it not for certain adventitious reasons. These are, first, its marked literary merit, in which feature it is both pleasing and distinctive, and second, its clear reflection of contemporary French opinion of early French exploring and pioneering ventures, the discussion of which is enlivened by attractive frankness and illuminated by shrewd common-sense. It is obvious that such a work makes great demands of its translator, and Mr. Grant's own estimate of his task is expressed in his opening words where he says that "Lescarbot, like Herodotus, whom he so much resembles, should be read in the original." Yet we believe there will be only one opinion as to the success of the translation. Its accuracy to the sense of the original seems unexceptionable, and it has an easy flow, a certain sprightliness, much of the Elizabethan flavor the translator sought, and withal at times an actual beauty quite worthy of the original. And the whole is annotated discriminatingly, albeit somewhat sparingly.

It seems ungracious to note flaws in a work so good, and indeed they are few. We miss a bibliographical account of Lescarbot's book, though we naturally expect it, and the notes, especially upon Lescarbot's sources, are at times unsatisfyingly brief. There is an occasional slight error, as when (page 113) *palourdes* is translated oysters, whereas it is the round clam, or when (page 60) Nauset is said to be in the Gulf of Maine. And the system of connecting the pagination of translation and French is not the most convenient.

Typographically the volume is very attractive. It is marked by a large and tasteful simplicity of printing-paper and binding which combine to give it an appearance of individuality and distinction. We miss an announcement of the personnel and plans of the Champlain Society, number one of whose publications it is, and we must perforce rest content with the unsatisfying statement that the volume is supplied only to members of the society and to subscribing libraries.

American Philosophy. The Early Schools. By J. WOODBRIDGE RILEY, Ph.D. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1907. Pp. x, 495.)

THE first of our historians to treat exhaustively the whole period of early American speculative thought from 1620 to 1820, Dr. Riley is practically a pioneer in his field. While conceding the truth of De

Tocqueville's charge that America during this period produced no original school of thought, and while admitting fully the indebtedness of our early thinkers to foreign sources, mainly English, French and Scottish, he yet maintains that they were not mere imitators but gave their work the distinctive stamp of an American product. The larger part of Dr. Riley's work is biographical but its chief value consists, as I think, in its genetic treatment of the movements themselves. Considering them in their sequence the five movements which the author points out were Puritanism, deism, idealism, materialism and realism. Viewing these movements in connection with the larger currents of religious and political belief, apart from which they could not be well understood, Dr. Riley points out how deism, imported first from England and later from France, fell in with a reaction which had set in against the rigorism of the Puritan-Calvinistic theology, becoming, in its turn, tributary to a more naturalistic and humanitarian creed; how deism in turn ran into the shallows of a superficial and often trivial teleology, causing a reaction toward materialism which, introduced by Priestley, and fostered by French influences, developed contra-deism in the direction of mechanism and physiological determinism.

While deism had a wide vogue and affected both believers and unbelievers in revealed religion the same cannot be said of materialism whose influence was limited though it numbered great names among its defenders. Territorially, the South, where Puritanism had never prevailed and where the Gallic influence was strong, would have been the natural field of materialism had its spread not been arrested by the introduction of Scottish realism which, allying itself with common-sense on the one hand and with religious orthodoxy on the other, was able to check effectively the advances of both idealism and materialism. Notwithstanding the ingrained idealism of the American mind, and the fact that the two greatest thinkers of this early period, Samuel Johnson and Jonathan Edwards, were of this persuasion, the idealistic movement proved the shortest-lived and left the fewest traces behind in the life of the people.

In the biographical part Dr. Riley has done ample justice to the individual representatives of the various movements. He stands as the virtual discoverer of Cadwallader Colden. The "astonishing system" of that backwoodsman Ethan Allen is also redeemed from unmerited obscurity, while Samuel Johnson receives a treatment worthy of his merits, and a very able guess is made at the riddle of that baffling sphinx of the colonial period, Jonathan Edwards. Speaking geographically, deism was strongest in the North while materialism found its most congenial soil south of Mason and Dixon's line. Realism first entrenched itself in the Middle States from whence it practically overspread the country, with the exception of some of the New England states. An interesting feature of the history of this period, which Dr. Riley emphasizes, is the commanding influence exerted by the colleges of the country.

Dr. Riley's method, the patience and thoroughness of his research, the fairness and general sanity of his judgments, are all good models for imitation. There is doubtless much that yet remains to be done but the value of his work is much more than that of a source-book. As a finished product it is likely to hold its place as an authority in the field it has so thoroughly explored for a long time to come.

ALEXANDER T. ORMOND.

The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century. By HERBERT L. OSGOOD, Ph.D., Professor of History in Columbia University. Volume III. *Imperial Control. Beginnings of the System of Royal Provinces.* (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xxii, 551.)

WITH this volume Professor Osgood completes a study of the colonies in the seventeenth century which may justly be deemed the most important interpretation of our colonial history that has thus far been made. In the earlier volumes he dealt in the main with the internal history of the proprietary and corporate colonies; in the volume before us he takes up the relation of all the colonies with the home government, and the beginnings of the system of royal provinces. Having noted in a former number of this REVIEW the character and excellence of Professor Osgood's work, I do not need to repeat the tribute there paid to the admirable qualities that it possesses. The third volume not only fully maintains the high standard of scholarship already set by the volumes previously issued, but also surpasses them in importance in that it deals with a subject hitherto largely ignored by writers on colonial history. Ignorance and indifference together with inaccessibility of material whereon to base an adequate study of the British system and policy may account for the fact that so important a phase of our history has thus been allowed to go by default. Professor Osgood is fortunate in having control of one essential source of knowledge—the British State and Departmental Papers, the majority of which are calendared for the period in question. For the eighteenth century he will probably have few such aids, since for the period to 1760 the calendared documents are limited to the single series of Treasury Board Papers to 1745. Calendars of the Domestic and Colonial Papers covering the period are not likely to appear for many years to come, and in the main the evidence for the British system during the first half of the eighteenth century will have to be extracted by hard labor from the original manuscripts.

The underlying purpose of Professor Osgood's volume is to present the British system of colonial control in all its aspects—organization and policy at home, relations of every sort with the American colonies over seas and the rise of the royal system. In the execution of his plan Professor Osgood begins with the origin and character of the organs of imperial control, a chapter all too short in view of its importance,

and then passes on to discuss the overthrow of the Virginia Company of London, the attempted annulment of the Massachusetts Charter and the history of Virginia as a royal colony until the coming of Berkeley as governor in 1641. Taking up again the thread of central control, he reviews the attitude of the home government toward the colonies during the Civil War, the Interregnum and the Restoration, and traces briefly and with some omissions the history of the bodies in charge of colonial affairs. The chapters devoted to these aspects of his subject seem to me the most significant and suggestive portions of his book, and the single chapter on the acts of trade is a contribution of unusual importance, for though American and English writers have dealt with the navigation acts for a century or more, little progress has hitherto been made in determining their origin and character and the circumstances under which they were passed. The remainder of the volume treats of the history of New York, New Hampshire and Virginia as royal colonies, of Bacon's rebellion and the royal commission of 1677, of the attempt to consolidate the northern colonies under Sir Edmund Andros and of the revolutions that followed in Massachusetts, New York and Maryland. A final section summarizes the conclusions thus far reached.

Professor Osgood reiterates his belief that through the Stuart period ran a more or less definite colonial policy which aimed to subordinate the colonies to the royal will. He states this belief more cautiously than in his former volumes, yet I am not convinced that the evidence which he presents warrants any such conclusion. It does not seem enough to say that the Stuart policy aimed to maintain "the sovereignty of England over the colonies in order that the maximum of advantage for both, but especially for the realm, might be secured" (p. 145). This statement might apply quite as well to the policy of William III. or of George I. as to that of Charles I. or Charles II. Professor Osgood agrees that the Restoration policy differed from that of the early Stuarts in that it laid greater emphasis on questions of trade and defense and less on ecclesiastical relations. He also dates the beginnings of a definite policy with 1675, but believes that the later Stuarts, whether consciously or not, revised certain principles of action that were characteristic of the attitude of Charles I. As he further indicates that the later Stuarts wished to establish a centralized colonial system analogous to that of France, he certainly implies that some crude form of such a policy existed in the earlier period. I feel sure, on the other hand, that the earlier policy was not colonial at all in the later sense of the word, but only a phase of the political or ecclesiastical policy of the government. I should date the rudiments of a system of colonies from 1655, and not from 1665, as Professor Osgood does, and should date the beginnings of a definite colonial programme much farther than 1675, perhaps even to 1650. At any rate the instructions issued to the Lords of Trade in 1675 merely repeat the terms embodied in the earlier Povey and Shaftesbury drafts. But the whole question is at present incapable

of exact determination and will remain undeterminate until the instructions to plantation boards and colonial governors, the acts and proceedings of these boards, and the orders and decrees of the Privy Council during the seventeenth century are examined, analyzed and compared.

Professor Osgood has certainly made good his case so far as the principles underlying the Navigation Act of 1660 are concerned. He shows that in essence these principles were enunciated as early as 1621 in connection with the exportation of tobacco from Virginia, and he traces their further expression as late as 1627. This date can be extended to 1637 as the following letter from the Privy Council to the governor of Virginia shows:

"By a letter of the 16th of August last we did authorize and require you not to permit any strangers to trade within that colony of Virginia by shipping in regard of the prejudice which doth generally grow and is likely to increase as well to his Majesty's customs and the shipping of his kingdom as to the plantation itself. And did likewise expressly require you to take bond of all his Majesty's subjects there that they shall land their goods here in England and not elsewhere; forasmuch as we have been informed that our directions in that behalf have not been put in due execution, but that some strangers have lately traded there and some English ships laden with tobacco have gone directly for Holland and there sold the same. We cannot but greatly marvel at your neglect, especially in a matter of such great consequence and do therefore again strictly charge and in his Majesty's name command you to see our aforesaid directions carefully and fully executed." July 14, 1637.

In this letter are virtually embodied the doctrines of British-owned ships and of "enumerated" commodities. As the latter doctrine does not appear to have been adopted, even in principle, during the Interregnum, it may be considered peculiarly a Stuart possession. Professor Osgood's hope that when the manuscripts of Parliament shall be arranged and examined, material will be found throwing light on the passage of the navigation acts (p. 209, note) is unfortunately not likely of fulfillment. Investigation has not disclosed the existence of any such material.

We owe too much to Professor Osgood for his illuminating and forcible presentation of British policy to find fault with the limitations which he has imposed upon himself. He frankly disclaims any intention of dealing with the larger problem of British colonial administration, but he would assuredly have given us a more symmetrical exposition of British aims and purposes had he taken more space, even at the expense of some of the pages devoted to the details of colonial history, wherein to exhibit the principles and methods of imperial control as applied to all the colonies taken together. He would not, I am sure, have committed himself to the following statement had he kept in mind the larger colonial world: "So slight were the dealings of the crown with the other

colonies, that its relations with New England really give character to the imperial administration until after 1680" (p. 512). Such a statement as this is based on an inadequate survey of the British system in actual operation.

Next to his treatment of British policy, Professor Osgood has made his most valuable contribution to colonial history in his admirable treatment of the many royal commissions in America. From the first sent to Virginia in 1623 to the last despatched in 1676 for the suppression of Bacon's rebellion, he has traced the varying fortunes of these commissions in great detail. Not only has he given them a prominence they have never received at the hands of the older writers, but he has taken great pains to deal with them justly and impartially. The most elaborate of his accounts concerns the commission of 1664 sent to New England, and we may infer that it was from a study of the words and acts of this commission that he has drawn the evidence for his definition of Stuart policy. If so, then that which he deems a Stuart policy is really the policy of but one member of that line, James, duke of York.

It is impossible, here, to treat even in brief, of the many incidents, movements and personages, which Professor Osgood has discussed with so much insight and good judgment. This volume like the others must be read thoroughly and thoughtfully. In the end the reader will rise from its perusal with larger views of colonial history and with a higher appreciation of the determination and earnestness of the home authorities in their effort to develop a colonial system which should promote the welfare of Great Britain and the colonies alike. Their ideals should be interpreted not in the light of later events in America but in the light of contemporary notions regarding the relation of the colonies to the mother-country.

Upon a few scattered points further comment may be made. Professor Osgood is uncertain whether or not Governor Yeardley secured a hearing before the Privy Council in 1625 and whether or not an inquiry into the origin and provisions of the Massachusetts Charter was held before the same body in 1634. It is of interest to know that the Register is silent on both points. The commission issued to the Council for Plantations of 1670, which Professor Osgood believes not to be extant (p. 280, note), is to be found among the Shaftesbury Papers. The form "Declared Account, Privy Seal" (p. 196, note) is a reference not known to the Public Record Office and I have tried in vain to discover the collection or series to which Professor Osgood refers. Students of the history of the British departments are inclined to think that the complicated system of passing a charter through the seals was maintained not "to protect the rights and interests of the king", as Professor Osgood says (p. 19), but for no higher purpose than to furnish fees for officials. One cannot help wishing that in referring to the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, Professor Osgood had not adopted the form "Colonial Papers", which should be restricted exclusively to the manu-

script volumes in the Record Office; and as he used "Cal. S. P. Dom." for the Domestic Papers it seems reasonable to insist that he should have used "Cal. S. P. Col." for the Colonial Papers. In a foot-note to his discussion of the British commissioners in Virginia (p. 284, note 2), he refers to the fact that Sir John Berry claimed to possess unusual powers for the suppression of Bacon's rebellion. It is worthy of note that the claim was well founded, for among the Admiralty Papers may be found the official warrant authorizing Berry to impress ships, boats and men in Virginia, if necessary. On pages 252 and 291, Professor Osgood says that the compensation of 600 pounds a year allowed Culpeper in lieu of his claims in Virginia was met by a tax levied on the colony. According to the Treasury Papers this item was charged not against the colony but against the account of the military establishment in America and so was paid by the British government.

There are a few errors in the volume of a comparatively trifling character. "Possibly a month before" in a note on page 149 should read "three and a half months before"; for the sake of clearness "committee for plantations" on page 171 should read "committee of the Privy Council for Plantation Affairs"; in speaking of the "council for foreign plantations" in 1675, Professor Osgood probably has in mind the Lords of Trade (p. 218); he is wrong in saying that the Council of Trade of 1660 was limited in its interest to domestic trade only (p. 281), and he is also wrong in thinking that the Council of 1672 was a consolidation of the two councils of 1660, for the "consolidation" was merely the taking over by the Council for Foreign Plantations of 1670 of the functions of the Council of Trade appointed in 1668. Professor Osgood perpetuates two time-honored but apparently doubtful traditions: one of the "common hangman" who in 1677 drove the Virginia commissioners from Berkeley's house and whom Virginia historians tell us never existed; the other of the hasty and summary passing of the Stamp Act of 1765 (p. 210, note), a belief that investigators assert is based on no adequate foundation.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. By PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE. (Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Shepperson. 1907. Pp. 268.)

THE *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* by Mr. Bruce is now followed by this companion study, concerned with the social life, in the narrower sense, of the upper classes. It is to be followed, as the author tells us, by successive monographs on religion and morals, education, legal administration, military system and political conditions, completing a study under the head of "Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century".

The present volume shows the same attention to detail as do the earlier volumes, although the author complains of the paucity of materials that directly touch his subject. Nevertheless, he prints an exten-

sive bibliography and again relies upon the unpublished county records to furnish interesting, if scattered, information.

The social life is taken up under a number of attractive topics, including the influences which promoted English colonization, the origin of the higher planting class, social distinctions, the ties with the mother-country, manner of life, hospitality, drinking, fishing, the funeral, the wedding, church, court day, muster and dueling. It is to be regretted that the index is limited to surnames.

In considering the causes of the settlement of the founders of prominent families in Virginia, the author very properly lays stress upon the persistence of the English spirit of adventure and upon the difficulties of providing for the younger sons in the society of the mother-country, which favored the descent of property to the eldest son at a time when the public service offered fewer opportunities for place than it did later. He is doubtless right in emphasizing the elements in Virginia which appealed to those who supported the king. The loyalty of the colony, its devotion to the Church of England and the large influence of the landholders there must have facilitated the migration of upper classes to the Southern colony. On the other hand, that the similarity of country life in the Virginia of the seventeenth century to that of England was an important factor in inducing settlement in that colony, is less clear. In general the author misses an opportunity to point out the differences between the higher planting class in Virginia and the classes from which they sprung. The transforming influences of American conditions upon this body of colonists is at least as important in a study of Virginia society as the survivals of English conditions and habits. It is fortunate that we have his earlier volumes to supplement this presentation.

Three chapters are devoted by the author especially to the part played by the upper classes of England in the origin of the higher planting class. Here the writer makes much use of recent genealogical investigations, and many examples are furnished to show that Virginia received families having high social connections in England, some of them descended from cavaliers, with titles indicating their social rank, more of them from military officers without such titles. The "squirearchy" also furnished its quota. On the whole, however, when the reader takes stock of the considerable number of instances, the actual evidence of large numbers of these representatives of the higher classes is less conclusive than might have been expected. "Among the prominent families who are thought to have possessed a legal right to the coats of arms which they habitually used", he mentions forty-three. It is fair to presume that the author would have given the total number, rather than occasional examples, had the figures been obtainable and had they indicated that the number was much larger. We are prepared therefore for his conclusion that the most important section of the higher planting class during this century "were the families sprung directly from English merchants".

Although he does not comment upon the significance of the fact as illustrating the democratizing tendencies of the new land, Mr. Bruce tells us that the English law of primogeniture was not in general operation in Virginia during the seventeenth century. He gives the explanation that there were few estates of extraordinary value, that mechanical trades of higher grade, the professions and mercantile opportunities were limited in Virginia, and that there was no recognized legal nobility. For the concentration of fortune by primogeniture, however, the greater planters found a substitute in collecting as many public offices in the family as their influence could secure, and passing them down.

Discussing social distinctions the author observes that at no period in the seventeenth century did Virginia's social life resemble the social life of a community situated on our extreme Western frontier, but that a sharp line of social separation existed between the gentleman and the common laborer. If taken literally the statement could be applied to most of the other colonies in the same period. It is probable also that the sentence is somewhat misleading, for it would be hard to deny that in Virginia, as in other colonies, the outer edge of settlement produced something like the frontier democracy of later times. The evidence in connection with Bacon's rebellion and various letters of Spotswood in the earlier years of the eighteenth century seem to indicate the existence of such a population, and they also raise doubts whether there was the amount of aristocratic organization of Virginia society which Mr. Bruce's presentation seems to support. Part of the emphasis is due, however, to the fact that the higher planting class is the particular subject of the volume. His discussion of the terms, gentleman, mister, esquire, yeoman, etc., is important, and is work in a field that should be cultivated in other colonies. He recognizes that the yeomen, or small landholders, made a large proportion of the planters and that they held a position of independence and political importance. Unless he has reserved a fuller treatment of them for later volumes, however, this class will hardly receive its due share of attention. The part the yeomen played in the politics of the lower house, to the disgust of governors like Spotswood, and their place in the later history of Virginia require that they be dealt with more at length. The servant and slave class are mentioned but are left largely to the previous volumes.

Upon the other topics of the book the author writes interestingly and informingly. The reader will gain from the work a more vivid and adequate understanding of the beginnings of the upper classes of Virginia society in the period of lowland ascendancy.

F. J. T.

A History of the United States and its People from their Earliest Records to the Present Time. Volume III. By ELROY McKENDREE AVERY. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company. 1907. Pp. xliii, 446.)

THE period covered in this the third installment of the Avery history extends from the middle of the seventeenth century to 1745. In the arrangement by chapters the English colonies are sometimes treated separately and sometimes collectively, according as geographical or political considerations, the abundance or the dearth of interesting materials, the similarity of historical experience, or the motive of mere convenience, may warrant. Separate chapters, however, are devoted to King Philip's War, the European conflicts of the time, the British colonial policy in its economic as well as in its political aspects, the Spanish province of Florida and the career of the French in Canada and the Louisiana country.

In its binding and typography, and in its maps and illustrations, the volume on the whole attains the standard set by its predecessors in the art of the book-maker. Its merits in these respects, when added to the care exercised by both author and publisher in providing for the substantial accuracy of what is written, make any allusion to its faults needful only as a means of suggesting improvements that may enable the work to maintain its position of superiority as a popular history of the United States.

To one who has read with care each of the three volumes the general impression left is, that so long as Dr. Avery sticks to the path of purely political history his narrative is fairly safe, but that when he swerves into the fields of philosophic interpretation, social psychology, or rhetorical embellishment, he is apt to afford the critic a fair mark for a shaft. In the installment under consideration the author appears to have discovered a "growing desire on the part of many Americans of culture for information concerning the social and economic history of their ancestors". "This knowledge", he adds, "has not been without effect upon the chapters herewith submitted" (p. viii). If the application of the knowledge in question was intended to be a sovereign specific for the annalistic ailments that afflict the usual mode of treating what is popularly, though wrongly, called "the neglected period of American history", the reviewer only wishes that the effect had been more marked upon the reading qualities of many of the paragraphs, and sometimes of whole chapters, about the governors and assemblies, by making them less reminiscent of the thrilling genealogy of David. The idea that Dr. Avery seems to have of the way in which the information about the social and economic record of our ancestors should be conveyed is certainly a bit odd when he cites the fact that Mrs. Bradstreet "was the mother of eight children and the author of quaint verses", or that Pastor Thacher "published the first medical treatise printed in America

and died" (p. 135). To this category also may belong the surprising statement that "Colonel Philip Ludwell had been secretary to Governor Berkeley of Virginia and was now the third husband of his widow" (p. 217).

The jingles, mixed metaphors, irrelevant episodes, loose assertions, unexplained allusions and foot-notes disguised as the oracular utterances of some learned person, which occasionally marred the text of the earlier volumes, are not encountered so frequently in the reading matter of this one. One four line stanza (p. 20) and the tripping diction of "By the wonder-working magic of a Dutch 'presto change!'" (p. 63) are the only symptoms of poetry. How "the soldiers . . . eliminated New France from the map of North America, and thus gave birth to a great republic" (p. 191) is a feat that certainly merits some attention. The exploits of Henry Morgan (p. 19) have no bearing upon the practice of piracy along the Carolina coast, and most of what is said about John Law (pp. 320-323) has little connection with Louisiana. Not much meaning can be derived from the phrase "the final struggle for the conquest of New France" (p. vii), or from a sentence like this: "English history was making fast, when, in March, 1689, Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts died" (p. 125). Even if the word "possession" be substituted for "conquest" in the phrase first mentioned, it might clarify the sense but it would not remove the actual error lurking in the intimation that the acquisition of New France by the English was the result of a conscious effort on their part prolonged through many years. Furthermore, in the absence of any contiguous explanation, the casual reader would hardly be able to catch the precise reference in such observations as "a verdict against Lord Baltimore on the ground of *hactenus inculta*" (p. 53); "and there was Samuel Shattock" (p. 128); "the new board of trade and plantations" (p. 211); "The 'country' party soon regained control" (p. 223); and "sweet revenge for the perfidy of Ulloa" (p. 327). Dr. Avery's use of quotation marks, also, is somewhat eccentric. When he injects the opinion of some one, professor or non-professor, into the text he may omit the marks (as on pp. 64, 213), or insert them (as on p. viii); he may place them around single words like "practical" and "sentimental" (p. 135), or he may gird them about sundry ancient quips and authorless epigrams, depriving the reader of the just satisfaction of knowing on whom to fix the responsibility for them.

The presence of so many errors, mistaken generalizations, unsound judgments and misleading phrases in the single chapter on the Wars of the Royal William, Anne, and George might lead one to imagine that the bizarre title must have cast a sorry spell upon it. To begin with, one would infer from the title that the subject-matter was the wars between the English and the French in the colonies of North America, whereas in fact the chapter describes the War of the Spanish Succession in particular and the earlier and later European conflicts

in general. Under what circumstances, it may be asked, was Spain driven from the stage of "the struggle for the heart of North America" between 1492 and 1600 (p. 183)? If she was indeed driven from the stage she managed to retain possession for a while of its west and south-east wings at least. To say of Louis XIV. that "rather than trust the succession to the will of the Spanish king"; he "entered into secret treaty with England and Holland for the partition of the Spanish king's dominions" (p. 184), and that after Charles II. had died, leaving his kingdom by will to the Duke of Anjou, Louis XIV. had not dared to hope for so much (p. 185), ignores that wily monarch's employment of Harcourt and Portocarrero as much as it reveals a lack of accurate knowledge about the partition treaties and their intricate story. No one at all familiar with the history of Spain could subscribe to such statements as "with the support of England and Portugal, the Austrian archduke contested with Philip V. for the Spanish crown. This aroused the Spanish people from their sleep. Three million Jews and Moors had been expelled and a blight was resting upon the seven millions who remained. There was no Spanish navy; Spanish commerce had died. . . . Spain could not submit to have an Austrian king imposed upon it by heretics" (p. 186). Dr. Avery could hardly have crowded a larger number of obvious mistakes into a few sentences if he had tried. Prussia became a kingdom in 1701, and not in 1713 (p. 187).

Outside of this chapter there are certain other points of difference between the author and the reviewer. To apply the term "pernicious activity" to the enforcement of the policy of the English government from 1660 onward in securing a more efficient control of the colonies is to prejudge the case. Just in what respect the colonial governor was "the manager of a commercial enterprise" (p. 208) is no more evident than that "The English revolution of 1688 proclaimed the right of subjects to dethrone a dynasty" (p. 217) is true. The value of the discussion of the British colonial policy, finally, would have been much enhanced if the statements had been more logically arranged, and if a goodly portion of the matter prematurely given in the second chapter of the second volume of the work could have been placed here in its proper connection.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

The Writings of Benjamin Franklin. Collected and edited with a Life and Introduction by ALBERT HENRY SMYTH. In ten volumes. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xxiii, 439; xi, 470; xii, 483; xii, 471; xii, 555; x, 477; xiii, 440; xiv, 651; xvi, 703; xxii, 633.)

UNTIL the appearance of Mr. Smyth's edition, two collections of Franklin's writings have been generally available. The ten-volume edition of Jared Sparks, published between 1836 and 1850, was in its day an historical undertaking of the first magnitude, and one for which

students of American history long needed to be grateful. Its faults, however, were those which later investigation has shown to characterize all of Sparks's editorial work, namely, the deliberate alteration of the text in the supposed interest of dignity and good form, and the suppression of passages which, it was thought, would be harsh or offensive to modern ears. Moreover, the topical classification of the material made the volumes difficult to consult, and there was an undue elaboration of introductions and notes. Until 1887-1889, however, when Mr. John Bigelow brought out his edition of Franklin's "complete" works, the Sparks collection remained the standard. Mr. Bigelow's edition, based upon a careful and thorough-going study of Franklin's papers, restored the text in most cases to its original form, substituted a chronological for a topical arrangement and added some six hundred pieces drawn principally from the Stevens Collection, then in the Department of State and now, with a few exceptions, in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. The high qualities of Mr. Bigelow's work, together with the comprehensive nature of his researches, gave to these ten volumes a seemingly definitive character, although their publication in a limited and costly edition was an unfortunate obstacle in the way of their general use.

The claim to definitiveness, however, which Mr. Bigelow's edition has long enjoyed, must now unquestionably be shared with this edition of Mr. Smyth. Editions of collected writings are always to be subjected to three tests: the completeness of the exhibit, the editorial method and workmanship, and the substantive value of the material—in this case the new material—presented. Mr. Smyth has certainly spared no effort to make his edition complete. His collection, he tells us, is "the result of a personal examination of all the extant documents thereunto appertaining in Europe and America" that were accessible; and the sources from which he has drawn show what a surprising volume of matter has become available since Mr. Bigelow's edition appeared. Among the more notable collections made use of are the more than eight hundred Franklin papers possessed by the University of Pennsylvania, first brought to light in 1903, and the imposing collection of thirteen thousand documents owned by the American Philosophical Society, and here for the first time painstakingly used. These, with the Stevens Collection, comprise most of the Franklin manuscripts known to have survived the ravages of neglect, ignorance and time; but numerous important papers are still dispersed in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the British Museum, the Public Record Office, Lansdowne House, the Royal Society, the Foreign Office and other repositories at Paris, and the archives at Simancas and the Hague, besides university libraries and private collections in this country and abroad. Of the Franklin Papers in European archives, all are believed to be listed in B. F. Stevens's "Index to the American Documents in the Archives of Europe". Many letters, however, are lost, most notably

the correspondence of Franklin with Jonathan Shipley, bishop of St. Asaph's, Sir Edward Newenham, member of the Irish Parliament and Dr. Jan Ingenhousz, the Austrian physician and scientist. Of Franklin's voluminous correspondence with Lord Kames, Sir William Herschel, Maskelyne and other scientists, surprisingly little can now be found.

To industrious search for manuscript material Mr. Smyth has added a careful examination of printed sources, particularly newspapers. The result is a substantial increase of the Frankliniana hitherto available. According to Mr. Smyth, the edition before us comprises three hundred and eighty-five letters and forty articles not contained in either the Sparks or the Bigelow editions, and all of indubitable authenticity. Chief among these new items are the "Dogood Papers", Franklin's youthful contributions to *The New England Courant*; some characteristic essays from *The Pennsylvania Gazette*; most of the prefaces to *Poor Richard's Almanac*; a number of letters and articles relating to the Stamp Act, written to London newspapers in 1765 and 1766, together with a report of Pitt's speech of January 14, 1766, against the act; and a portion of the entertaining correspondence between Franklin and Madame Brillon, not heretofore printed.

The omission of documents touches in part the simple question of fact, and in part the question of historical method. Mr. Smyth omits the Principles of Trade published in 1774, because written not by Franklin, but by George Whatley; On Government, written by John Webbe; and A True State of the Proceedings in the Parliament of Great Britain, the work of Arthur Lee. The Historical Review of Pennsylvania, commonly ascribed to Franklin and doubtless inspired by him, but the authorship of which was expressly disclaimed by Franklin in a letter to Hume, is also left out. The so-called Canada Pamphlet, on the other hand, the joint work of Franklin and Richard Jackson, is properly retained because of the editor's inability to discriminate the shares of the two authors. The numerous illustrations which the short paragraphs of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Almanac* afford of Franklin's coarse humor and vulgarity have not been reproduced, and the letter to the Academy of Brussels is omitted for the same reason; though it must be admitted that this process of expurgation, while conducing to the safety of Mr. Smyth's pages for the unwary, shows but imperfectly the real Franklin that was. In the case of certain other writings of Franklin, the editor takes more debatable ground. For example, the prefaces to *Poor Richard's Almanac* which relate to the making of wine, the appearance of the planets and Middleton's account of life in the region of Hudson's Bay, are omitted from the series without explanation, although the editor takes special pride in the inclusion of the other prefaces as a valuable feature of his edition. A group of early essays on Public Men, Self Denial, the Usefulness of Mathematics, True Happiness, On Discoveries, the Waste of Life,

the Causes of Earthquakes, the Drinker's Dictionary and a Case of Casuistry, is discarded because the essays "have been ascribed to Franklin on insufficient evidence, and are at any rate dull and trivial". A letter to Cadwallader Colden, containing a conjectural explanation of the longer time required by vessels in the westward than in the eastward Atlantic passage, is omitted because Franklin, having declared in 1786 that the theory was untenable, "desired that the letter should not be reprinted". The omission of the *Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity*, printed in 1726, is defined on the ground that "the work has no value, and it would be an injury and an offence to the memory of Franklin to republish it". The determination of authorship from such evidences as literary style or subject-matter is at best a delicate business, while an author's own opinion of the value of his work, or an editor's estimate of the permanent worth or present interest of authentic documents, assuredly ought not to control in the preparation of a "complete" edition. Doubtless the substantive loss in these instances is not great, but the decision of the editor cannot be approved.

For the rest, Mr. Smyth's editorial method shows intelligence and painstaking care. With the exception of the *Autobiography*, which has been reprinted from Mr. Bigelow's text, all the documents are transcribed from the originals, with faithful adherence to punctuation, capitalization and spelling; and the source from which each piece is drawn is indicated. More than two thousand errors in previous editions have, it is said, been corrected, and many letters hitherto designated as mutilated or incomplete are given in full. Where manuscripts were not available, the original printed texts appear to have been followed. It would have been a great convenience had an indication been given of the documents already printed by Sparks and Bigelow, since without such aid only a page-for-page comparison can show just what changes have been made or just what material is new. The documents are arranged in chronological order so far as possible. There is a wise paucity of notes, the annotations being restricted, for the most part, to a statement of the *locus* of the document and a brief indication of the circumstances or of the person addressed. The last volume contains a list of correspondents, over four hundred and fifty in number, and indexes of persons, places and subjects.

A biography of Franklin by the editor fills more than half of the tenth volume. As a careful and detailed record of Franklin's multifarious activities, it is a sort of digest of the content of the preceding volumes, and will have distinct value for reference purposes; but it will not supersede, save as it here and there corrects or amplifies, previous accounts of Franklin's career. A somewhat similar characterization must be made of the edition as a whole. The new material contained in these ten volumes does not add greatly to our knowledge of Franklin as a politician, a statesman or a diplomatist. The broad lines of his public career have long since been drawn, and Mr. Smyth's

additions cannot do more than fill in personal details, though they do this at many points. Scholars may well be grateful, however, that the imposing mass of Franklin's writings, ranging over a wider field of intellectual and social interests than that of any other American public man, is here presented with convincing accuracy and approximate completeness.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

England and America, 1763 to 1783. The History of a Reaction.

In two volumes. By MARY A. M. MARKS. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1907. Pp. xxiii, 664; viii, 665-1306.)

SINCE the volumes of Bancroft dealing with the subject, this is the bulkiest discussion of the Revolutionary period which has appeared; for the sixth volume of Winsor is largely bibliographic. Undoubtedly there is needed a scientific investigation of these two critical decades—an investigation based on the whole mass of rapidly accumulating source-materials—more detailed and comprehensive than the plan of recent publications has permitted. The book before us is not without merit; but it will scarcely be accepted by scholars as satisfying their needs. Because so generally the principles of scientific research and composition have been ignored, these two volumes comprising some 650,000 words—more than four times the space filled by the two corresponding numbers of the American Nation—have failed greatly to deepen or to clarify our knowledge.

In the first place, there is inadequate use of the available materials. The four pages of Bibliography of the More Important Works Consulted contain many of the best known British collections of memoirs, correspondence and Parliamentary papers; and often these have been studied with good results. In particular, the *Annual Register*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Parliamentary History*, Donne's *Correspondence of George III. with Lord North*, the *Clinton-Cornwallis Correspondence*, and some of the contemporary newspapers have been diligently exploited. Other important sources, such as the *Grenville Papers* and the *Bedford Correspondence* are omitted; while sometimes, as in the case of Horace Walpole's *Memoirs of the Court of George III.*, the latest and best edition is not mentioned. The monographs of modern British scholars are almost wholly ignored; and but a limited acquaintance with the vast mass of pamphlet literature preserved in British libraries is disclosed.

More astonishing is the author's neglect of the American materials. She has indeed cited the *Massachusetts Colonial Records*, the *Collections* of the Massachusetts and the New York Historical Societies, Force's *Tracts and Archives*, Spark's *Diplomatic Correspondence*, the works of Jay, Paine, Hutchinson, Franklin and John Adams; but this virtually closes the list of American sources. No reference is made to the collected writings of Hamilton, Jefferson, Washington, Samuel Adams, or to those of less conspicuous men. She is oblivious of the ever-increasing

mass of published correspondence, proceedings of colonial or state assemblies, transactions of provincial or continental congresses and the records of the various kinds of Revolutionary committees. Moreover, the vast number of histories and monographs, produced mainly since the Civil War, appears to be almost entirely unknown to Mrs. Marks. The only general histories cited are Bancroft's *United States* and Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*. The *Narrative and Critical History*, and therefore Mellen Chamberlain's able discussion of the preliminaries of the Revolution, is overlooked. The only writings of a special nature referred to in the bibliography are Sabine's *Loyalists*, Moore's *Treason of Charles Lee*, Campbell's *Annals of Tryon County* and Ingersoll's *Second War*.

Again, the "mechanics" of the book reveals the untrained historical writer. There are a few foot-notes; but only in exceptional cases is either volume or page cited. In the case of correspondence or public documents, the assignment of the date is helpful; but usually the reader is denied the privilege of ready verification of the numerous quotations. An author can no longer safely ask the public to take her statements on faith alone. One has a feeling that this work is better than it looks; but in the main a rare opportunity has been lost. It is a pity that the expenditure of so much money and labor was not more wisely directed; for a better method and a more thorough use of the easily accessible sources would have enabled Mrs. Marks to render a much more important service.

The work consists of 126 chapters, the first forty-four being devoted to the twelve years between the Peace of Paris and the battle of Bunker Hill. There is no attempt at a larger synthesis. In chronological sequence, selected events are treated each in a short chapter. The British side of the great drama receives the best and fullest discussion. An enormous number of details are presented; yet some of the most important episodes are neglected. For instance, the Sugar Act, even more important than the Stamp Act for understanding the grievance of the colonists, receives but a passing notice. The narrative is in the main trustworthy as regards statement of facts, but it is by no means free from error. Thus the academy founded by Franklin (p. 29) did not afterwards become the "University of Philadelphia"; nor did Franklin first hear of the "Hutchinson Letters" a little before "George Grenville's death". Grenville died in 1770, and it was not until December, 1772, that Franklin had his conversation with a "gentleman of character and distinction". The name of the author of the *Farmer's Letters* is not written *Dickenson*; nor did Dickinson "afterwards desert the colonial cause", although he did oppose the Declaration of Independence. "The 55 Clauses of the Bill for Taxing the Colonies" did not, as alleged, pass "the Commons on the 6th of March, 1765". The fifty-five "resolutions" comprising the details of the proposed law were submitted to the Commons on the sixth of February; while the "bill" was not introduced until March 13.

In its opening sentence the thesis of the work is expressed: "The history of the loss of America is the history of a Tory reaction." This thesis is maintained too much in the spirit of an advocate, but often with force and with a dramatic marshalling of facts from the records. Indeed, this book has the quality of interest in a high degree. The style is not free from faults; but in the main it is simple, vigorous and entertaining. The industrious grouping of extracts from sources will prove an advantage to the student; but the advantage would have been far greater had the author adopted a modern system of citation.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon. By FREDERICK V. HOLMAN, Director of the Oregon Pioneer Association and of the Oregon Historical Society. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1907. Pp. 301.)

THIS volume partakes strongly of the character of a memorial. It grew out of an address delivered on McLoughlin Day observed at the Lewis and Clark Exposition on October 6, 1905. The subject extolled was of Canadian birth and of Scotch-Irish antecedents. He was in charge of Fort William, the factory of the Northwest Company on the north shore of Lake Superior, when that company was merged in the Hudson Bay Company, and was transferred to the management of the consolidated concern's affairs west of the Rocky Mountains. He continued to be its chief factor in the "old Oregon country" during the remaining twenty-two years of "joint occupation". Nevertheless, he is—and not inaptly—termed the "Father of Oregon", referring to the American settlement that developed into an American commonwealth. It necessarily took a man of fine administrative ability to conduct so successfully the operations of "The Great Company" throughout the vast Pacific slope during the period of disputed sovereignty. His predilections for democratic institutions and society must have been exceedingly strong that he should turn to Oregon City, an isolated frontier hamlet, after having lived a quarter of a century nearly as the master of a baronial establishment at Fort Vancouver. But the transcendently unique element in Dr. McLoughlin's character shines in the measure and quality of humanity exhibited, during the early forties mainly, towards the travel-worn and destitute pioneers coming across the plains from the American states. These at the approach of winter were just completing their trans-continental migration and thronged at the gates of his fort in direst need. They had come to wrest Oregon from his nation and his corporation—and he fed, clothed and sheltered all who applied for aid. He even sent out free conveyance to bear them safely in over the most dangerous part of their journey. Suffering was alleviated and many—women and children especially—were saved from perishing. It would have been easy by indifference to the needs of these

Oregon pioneers to have given the Indians the cue to rid him of them. There was no Indian war and but few minor depredations while Dr. McLoughlin was in charge at Fort Vancouver. And, moreover, the situation in the closing years of the period of joint occupation was such that, without the wise and forbearing McLoughlin in charge, collisions between the English and Americans could hardly have been averted and war between the United States and Great Britain prevented.

The author is a descendant of a pioneer family who had experienced the gracious kindness of the chief factor. He had also from earliest youth heard from all sides among the pioneers tributes to the humanity of Dr. McLoughlin. He naturally writes with feeling. However, the volume is not mere panegyric. One hundred and seventy-two pages are taken up with his account and argument, and one hundred and twelve are used for "illustrative documents referred to in the text". The search for documentary sources, without being extended to the archives of the Hudson Bay Company, was thorough and the materials are handled with care and accuracy.

Dr. McLoughlin, representing the interests of a giant English fur-trading corporation and at the same time exhibiting the tenderest humanity towards invading American agriculturists contesting its territory, was inviting martyrdom. He was forced to resign and to assume the burden of the credit he had given the pioneers. And again, Dr. McLoughlin, while still the chief factor, laying claim to a town and power site on the American side of the Columbia, the possession of which would give monopoly advantage and the key to the economic progress of primitive Oregon, was also challenging fate. The wrongs he suffered through the machinations of those who sought to deprive him of his land-claim have the chief emphasis in this book. They are discussed from the strictly legal and abstractly ethical point of view. There is no possible defense for the course actually pursued against him while he was attempting to hold a section of land, including the present site of Oregon City and the then most available power for flouring and lumber-mill purposes. But privilege was almost certain to be challenged on the American frontier and in a ruthless way. The land law first adopted by the organizers of the provisional government declared against the basis of Dr. McLoughlin's title. It must be said, however, if privilege and royalty were under any condition in order in the American community in Oregon, Dr. John McLoughlin was far and away the rightful heir to all that could be conferred. It is only in the fact that the author did not examine the problem involved in the virtual martyrdom of Dr. McLoughlin from the broadly historical point of view that any exception can be taken to this admirable book.

F. G. YOUNG.

Life and Public Services of William Pitt Fessenden. In two volumes. By FRANCIS FESSENDEN, Brigadier-General, U. S. A. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1907. Pp. ix, 374; vii, 367.)

THE subject of this biography will be chiefly remembered by posterity as *primus inter pares* of the immortal seven who, in a trying crisis of their country's history, rose above the frenetic demands of their party and refused to take part in the removal of a president of the United States by a prostitution, as iniquitous as it was transparent, of the process prescribed by the fundamental law. A storm of obloquy broke upon his head, raised by the radicals who were largely in the ascendant in his state and section; and he died before the cloud that blighted the subsequent careers of his co-offenders had vanished away. However, justice has been done to his memory by the verdict of history. The second administration of President Grant was hardly ended before the country settled down to the opinion that, had the movement been successful which these seven judges of the High Court of Impeachment were able to defeat by only a single vote, our republic would have taken its place among those unstable forms of popular government where revolution is an ordinary incident in every hotly contested campaign; and, at the present day, the vote, then so generally denounced as the basest treachery to the party that claimed to have saved the Union, has come to be regarded as an act of patriotic self-devotion.

To such a hero, this book is a fitting tribute rendered by two of the sons whose advancement in the army was thrown into the face of their father as the cause of his conservatism. In reply to Senator Chandler of Michigan who assailed the senator from Maine as the apologist of the Apostate in the White House, Fessenden drew tears from half of the Senate by the following words:

"I have been twitted in the newspapers that my sons were generals in the Army. God gave me four sons. Three of them volunteered and the other volunteered also, but his health broke down and he was obliged to stay at home, much to his regret and sorrow. My youngest fell upon his first field. Another had his arm shattered and his leg shot off. The third was not wounded, but served and fought in twenty battles. I never asked for the appointment of one of them to any office."

William Pitt Fessenden was altogether too much of a statesman to suit the headlong radicalism of those times. Though his indefatigable industry in shaping measures of legislation and his conspicuous ability in advocating them upon the floor had won for him a place in the front rank of the Senate, yet he became the target of the poisoned arrows of the extremists because he would not go the full length of imposing negro suffrage as a condition of the readmission of the Southern states. Sumner was exceptionally bitter against him. In fact these two men were intensely antipathetic to each other both by temperament and mental habit. In a newspaper interview in August, 1867, Sumner said of him:

"For several years he has been very unkind to me, unaccountably so. I cannot comprehend it. Sometimes it seemed to me akin to insanity. He has always been against my ideas, but why should he contend personally? . . . All of the slave-masters together never wounded me as did this colleague from New England. . . . He runs to personalities as a duck to water—if not in language then in manner and tone. Until he gets heated he is dull."

From an elaborate speech which the senator from Massachusetts read against the first form of the Fourteenth Amendment, Fessenden culled "a few flowers of rhetoric" of that malodorous class for which Sumner seemed to cherish an unnatural fondness. This cardinal measure, which two-thirds of the Republicans in the House had already approved, was gibbeted before the country as "a muscicular abortion"; "disgusting ordure"; "loathsome stench"; "a political obscenity"; "a mighty House of Ill-fame which it is proposed to license constitutionally for a political consideration". . . Such rank specimens of what the scholarly Massachusetts senator condemned as "personalities" in another drew from Fessenden the criticism: "There are two kinds of personality in debate; one . . . aimed directly at the individual in the heat of debate when men are somewhat excited, when they cannot stop to choose their own words. . . . Another . . . which . . . aims at masses, confines itself to nobody, deals in epithets; . . . does not pick out an individual who can reply on the spot; and is elaborated in the closet, full of all manner of bitterness, but so expressed that no particular individual has a right to take it to himself. . . . I think the latter, inasmuch as it is cool, deliberated upon, the words chosen, exhibits vastly the more malice of the two."

Sumner said of Fessenden: "As a lawyer he is of the *nisi prius* order. There is nothing of a jurist in his attainments or nature." How competent a judge on this question the former was, can be ascertained by comparing the opinions of these two members of the High Court of Impeachment on the trial of President Johnson:

"To the suggestion that popular opinion demands the conviction of the President", Fessenden replied: "He is not on trial before the people, but before the Senate. . . . The people have not heard the evidence as we have heard it. . . . They have not taken an oath 'to do impartial justice according to the Constitution and the laws'. I have taken that oath."

Sumner took a different view: "This is a political proceeding, which the people . . . are as competent to decide as the Senate. . . . It is a mistake to suppose that the Senate only has heard the evidence. The people have heard it also, day by day, as it was delivered and have carefully considered the case on the merits, properly dismissing all apologetic subtleties. . . . They are above the Senate and will 'rejudge its justice'."

The people have already done so; and this book reminds us that it is about time that the people "rejudge" Sumner.

DAVID M. DEWITT.

Frederick Douglass. By BOOKER T. WASHINGTON. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia and London: George W. Jacobs Company. 1907. Pp. 365.)

THE chief interest of this new life of Douglass in the "American Crisis Biographies" series is in giving us the conception formed of the personal importance and the times of the most conspicuous American negro and leader of his race in the past by the one upon whom his mantle is now generally regarded to have fallen. Sympathetic as the biographer shows himself to be at almost every point with the political, and particularly with the social and educational, views and policy of his predecessor, he yet subordinates Douglass in treatment to the theme close to Douglass's and his own heart, the material advancement of his race and what he terms the "difficult social problems" created by the presence of the negro in America. Douglass's contribution toward the solution of this continuous negro problem is viewed as necessarily chiefly destructive, belonging to the "period of revolution and liberation", while the present is one "of construction and readjustment".

So manifestly eclectic is the choice and treatment of events in Douglass's career and so considerable the amount of space sacrificed to summarizing well-known current history, that an irresistible impression results of the author's desire to furnish a text for colored youth inspiring them with "courage to look upward and forward". Douglass is made an object lesson in the progress of his people, an ideal to be followed. In the entire sixteen chapters no adverse comment of this man comes from the author. Douglass "was the soul of honor . . . loved the right, and hated wrong" and "no man of his prominence was freer from vices". Though the book is unusually well-written and readable, no pretense of an attempt at a critical examination of data and estimate of the services of the man is made. There are no foot-note citations and only a brief bibliography of twenty well-known titles. A comparison of the narrative with those of the several editions of Douglass's autobiography of 1845, 1855, 1882, and the account by Holland (1891) will show the faithful gleaning to which these have been subjected. A mass of personal detail and comment given by Douglass, some of it essential to an analysis of his character and career, has been disregarded to save space for a chapter (v.) on Slavery and Anti-Slavery and one (vii.) on the Colored People and Colonization and considerable portions of two other chapters (ix. and x.), which contain but a few unimportant mentions of Douglass. The latter half of the book, through well-selected and cleverly introduced extracts, exhibits Douglass and his services in the periods immediately preceding and during the Civil War, and in the reconstruction. The biographer writes as a Southerner who feels that the North and the federal government have not received their just share of censure for prejudice and discrimination against the colored man. Some manifest overstatements

are to be noted (pp. 302, 304, 307, 326, 331, 336) and several errors of diction or fact (pp. 94, 123, 198, 303, 331); but the volume, though uncritical, is the most interesting and most readable sketch of Douglass in print.

J. C. BALLAGH.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume XXV. *America as a World Power* (1897-1907). By JOHN HOLLADAY LATANÉ, Ph.D., Professor of History, Washington and Lee University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1907. Pp. xii, 350.)

FOURTEEN of the nineteen chapters of this interesting volume deal with matters of war, diplomacy and government of dependencies. Of the remaining five chapters, two (VII. and XIII.) describe the elections of 1900 and 1904, and two (XVII. and XVIII.) are devoted to a study of Immigration and Economic Tendencies. Chapter XIX. consists of a Critical Essay on the Authorities.

The unity of the work and the appropriateness of its title suffer somewhat by the addition of four of the chapters mentioned above. The topics which they treat are so vital and the internal administrations of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt are so significant (the former on the negative and the latter on the positive side) that they might well have been made the subject of a separate volume. If the Spanish-American War of 1898 inaugurated a new epoch in the history of our international relations, the Bryan platform of 1896 marks the beginnings of a gigantic struggle for economic reform.

The story of the naval and military operations is clearly and simply told, but such gleams of humor as are contained in the following passage are unfortunately rare: "The eyes of the nation were at once turned to the Orient, and people who had to search closely on their maps in order to find the Philippine Islands were soon discussing glibly the commercial and strategic importance of the group" (p. 37). Professor Latané does not mince matters in saying that the "administrative inefficiency of the war department was everywhere revealed in striking contrast with the fine record of the navy department. Secretary Alger had been too much occupied with questions of patronage to look after the real needs of the service" (p. 47).

The author rightly holds President McKinley, who seems to have been influenced by mixed commercial and religious motives, responsible for the acquisition of the Philippine Islands. He is of the opinion that it was unnecessary to reinforce Admiral Dewey and remarks (p. 79): "The parting of the ways was when President McKinley sent the first expedition from San Francisco to Manila." He does not, however, comment upon the obvious disadvantages of this conquest (the greatest of which is that it gave us an exposed frontier), although he remarks elsewhere (p. 319) that "strained relations with Japan" have resulted from the occupation of these islands.

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Chapter v. contains a plain unvarnished account of the Philippine Insurrection based on official records. Although the provocation was doubtless often great and reports of "atrocities" were greatly exaggerated, nevertheless "murder, rape, torture, and other crimes were too frequently committed by the American soldiers."

Chapter VIII. on the Status of Dependencies contains a useful analysis of the leading decisions and conflicting opinions on that perplexing subject. Chapters ix. and x. deal with government in the Philippines and Cuba, respectively. They are dry and impartial studies based upon official documents and describe the anatomy or structure rather than the actual working of institutions. But in so far as Professor Latané ventures to pronounce upon the success of our Philippine experiment, his verdict is unfavorable: "American control of the Philippines has not, up to 1907, demonstrated its success . . . The United States has been too eager to Americanize the Filipinos through political and legal reforms . . ." (pp. 170-171).

Other chapters deal with the unique settlement of the Alaskan Boundary Dispute in 1903, the negotiations and events leading up to the construction of the Panama Canal, the important part played by the United States in the peace and arbitration movement since 1899, the Monroe Doctrine and the Drago Doctrine against the forcible collection of public debts. It is to be regretted that another chapter on our commercial and diplomatic relations with Latin America—a subject upon which the author is particularly well qualified to speak—was not added.

The work seems remarkably free from errors. The only positive misstatement of fact which the reviewer has detected is the assertion (p. 283) that the Hague Conference of 1907 did not formally adopt the Porter Resolution. The statement (p. 270) that the policy of the United States respecting the forcible collection of public debts is in accord with that of Great Britain as outlined in Lord Palmerston's celebrated circular dispatch of 1848, might give rise to a misconception. The chapter on International Arbitration contains irrelevant matter, and the important role played by the United States at the Hague Conference of 1899 and 1907 is not sufficiently emphasized.

The book contains seven maps and a good index. Its frontispiece is a portrait of Ex-President McKinley.

AMOS S. HERSHEY.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume XXVI. *National Ideals Historically Traced (1607-1907).* By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D., Professor of History in Harvard University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1907. Pp. xvi, 401.)

In this, the concluding volume of his notable series on the American nation, Professor Hart sums up the development of our national ideals

during the last three centuries. Abandoning the treatment of chronological sections followed throughout the previous volumes, he epitomizes the growth of American social, economic, political, religious and educational ideas and ideals. Under such broad heads as Dependent Races, Self-Government, Theories of Government, Local Government, Federal Government, the Man who Leads, Sinews of Government, the Outer World, War and Order, and the Assurance of American Democracy, our political ideas in particular are analyzed and developed in admirable manner. Religious and ethical ideas, social and industrial philosophies are also considered, but, as in the other volumes of the series, are subordinated to the governmental aspects of our history. The leading tendencies in American life and thought are clearly and carefully traced through the fields already traversed by the previous volumes of the series and this interpretation of American history, in its larger aspects, fittingly crowns the work.

In the concluding chapter, on the Assurance of American Democracy, Professor Hart confesses his faith in the future of popular government in America and assigns various reasons for his confidence. Perhaps the most significant and certainly the most typically American of these is the statement that there is in America "a common patience with evils against which a virile people ought to strive, a common fatalistic expectation that things will come about whether preparations are made before hand or not" (pp. 342-343). This may be characterized as optimistic or as fatalistic, but it is certainly American.

The most serious menace to democracy Professor Hart finds in the territorial extent of the United States and particularly in the recent extension of the national domain to the Philippine Islands. He admits, however, elsewhere that "America has established once for all the possibility of a democracy on an area immense and various." Another danger pointed out is the possibility of conflict between different classes or interests, especially between labor and capital. But this danger is not considered as grave. "Conventional democracy", says the author, "with manhood suffrage would seem to assure the victory in every such contest to the most numerous class."

This volume must be classed with the studies of American democracy made by De Tocqueville and Bryce. It has all the advantages and disadvantages of being written in this case by one of the Americans—all the insights and the oversights of introspection. On the historical side Professor Hart's work is more complete and stronger than either of the other studies. On the philosophic side, it compares less favorably with the work of the French and the English student. There are, however, enough passages in the work showing rare depth of insight and breadth of generalization to indicate that the author, if he had cared to, might have written in a consistently brilliant philosophical vein.

C. E. MERRIAM.

Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History. Volume I. Compiled and edited by a committee of the Association of American Law Schools. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1907. Pp. x, 847.)

ROGER NORTH relates that Sergeant Maynard "had such a relish of the old year-books that he carried one in his coach to divert him in travel, and said he chose it before any comedy". Present-day readers of the year-books and other sources of our law, and indeed all who adventure, for one reason or another, into the inviting but still partially unexplored realms of England's and America's legal past, will welcome these *Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History*. They will welcome these volumes not alone because of their diverting qualities, but also because of their informing, guiding and inspiring qualities. The charm and spirit of the year-books are in them, and so too are some of the most important results of researches by the new historical school of English and American lawyers.

It was certainly a brilliant idea to collect from the files of legal periodicals and general treatises on the modern law various scattered essays and chapters on Anglo-American legal development and to republish them in orderly form and convenient compass. Chapters from standard works on legal history—such as those of Pollock and Maitland, Holdsworth, and Holmes—have been included only where their exclusion would have left certain topics or periods, owing to lack of available periodical material, imperfectly discussed or not discussed at all. The aim has been to supplement, rather than to supplant, existing treatises on legal history. The present collection contains, however, no essays on public law, such topics as the history of municipal corporations and constitutional law being reserved for a possible later series.

Volume I. contains essays giving general surveys, while volumes II. and III. will present essays on the history of particular topics of law, the history, for example, of contracts, torts, property, marriage, equity and procedure. The twenty-one essays of volume I. are arranged in five parts. Part I. relates to the period before the Norman Conquest. In the lamented Professor Maitland's Prologue to a History of English Law we "look round for a moment at the world in which our English legal history has its beginnings"—the world of Roman, Canon and Teutonic law; and Mr. Edward Jenks's Development of Teutonic Law carries on the same story. Both essays discuss Anglo-Saxon law, but in Sir Frederick Pollock's English Law before the Norman Conquest the reader finds a fuller statement. Part II. is devoted to the period from the Norman Conquest to the eighteenth century, and its seven essays are the following: The Centralization of Norman Justice under Henry II., by Mrs. John Richard Green; Edward I., the English Justinian, by Mr. Edward Jenks; English Law and the Renaissance, by Professor Maitland; Roman Law Influence in Chancery, Church

Courts, Admiralty and Law Merchant, by Mr. T. E. Scrutton; the History of the Canon Law in England, by the late Bishop Stubbs; the Development of the Law Merchant, by Mr. W. S. Holdsworth; a Comparison of the History of Legal Development at Rome and in England, by Mr. Bryce. Part III., on the American colonial period, contains: English Common Law in the Early American Colonies, by Professor Reinsch; the Extension of English Statutes to the Plantations, by Professor Sioussat; the Influence of Colonial Conditions, as Illustrated in the Connecticut Intestacy Law, by Professor Andrews. In part IV. are essays by Mr. R. Robinson, Mr. Dillon, Lord Bowen, Professor Beale and Mr. Bryce on the expansion and reform of the law in the nineteenth century. The bench and bar from Norman times to the nineteenth century forms the subject of part V., which contains essays by Mr. John M. Zane and Mr. Van Vechten Veeder. Included too is a letter by Chancellor Kent describing an American law student of a hundred years ago. Mr. Zane's interesting Five Ages of the Bench and Bar of England has—with the exception of a small portion—never before been published, and is a valuable contribution.

This collection of essays will be of great assistance in spreading a knowledge of Anglo-American legal development among the students of law and of history. Its publication should also create a deeper and wider interest in the scientific study of the great treasures of original sources that still await examination by loving, painstaking and trained hands.

HAROLD D. HAZELTINE.

Vida y Escritos del Dr. José Rizal. Por W. E. RETANA. (Madrid: Librería General de V. Suarez. 1907. Pp. xvi, 511.)

DURING 1905 and 1906 Señor Retana published in numbers of the monthly review of Madrid, *Nuestro Tiempo*, notes on the life of José Rizal, the Filipinos' martyr and political saint, and the greatest man the Malay race has yet given to the world at large. The notes and documents accumulated by Retana's own diligent industry are now supplemented by corrections and additional data and documents elicited by the articles in the periodical, especially from various Filipino associates of Rizal, and the whole is brought together in a substantial quarto volume. Wonderful to relate, here is one Spanish work in history and politics which has an alphabetical index—a very satisfactory one, too, for names, though not for topics. It is dedicated to Ferdinand Blumentritt, has a prologue by a Spaniard who was for a time a college-mate of Rizal and who wastes considerable rhetoric to say little, and an epilogue by Miguel de Unamuno, whose analysis of Rizal is both shrewder and juster than that offered in fragments by Retana in the body of the work. A rather oddly-made bibliography of Rizaliana is also appended, and there are sixteen half-tone plates, reproducing various photographs of Rizal, some of his modellings in clay, his skull (exhumed in 1898), mortuary urn, etc. The rights have been reserved by registration in the United States.

This is altogether the best piece of work Señor Retana has done as an editor and compiler on Philippine subjects, and is also, by virtue of its subject and of the array of documents he has brought together, the most important work he has done. The fact that he has turned right-about-face and repudiated all his political writings on the Philippines up to and including 1898, does not prevent his old defect of diffuseness as a commentator and his Spanish fondness for superfluous rhetoric from showing in this work, swelling its bulk with much data, purely petty, or superfluities of foot-note preachings. But the new, emancipated Retana no longer distorts or hides essential facts in Philippine politics and society under Spain, because of being under the necessity of *aiding the friars' cause*. He now shows us things as they were, and his own change of attitude since Spain has lost the Philippines is in itself a most striking commentary on the blighting influence of the old régime. Here a word of caution is in place: Before 1898, Retana's pen was guided in accordance with the necessities of the editorship of an organ maintained to support the friars' policy in the Philippines; now, he looks for patronage of his Philippine writings mainly to the Filipinos themselves; and, though he is apparently sincere in his new attitude as a Spanish Liberal, one needs to be on his guard against undue exaggerations in the other direction, for this author is essentially a partizan.

This work is absolutely indispensable for one who would study the Philippine reform propaganda from about 1880 to 1896. It is so valuable, in spite of the faults above indicated, simply because of its richness of documentation. Various writings of Rizal scarcely available elsewhere are reproduced in part or in whole. Extracts from his diary and clinical notes as a student in Madrid (most interesting documents, now in the collection of Mr. Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago) are among the new data and documents which are unique in their biographical value, revealing the character of this remarkable Malay. Other documents and data bring forth for the first time facts as to Rizal's life in exile in Mindanao and as to his trial in December, 1896, that have hitherto been known to only a few. The statutes of the Liga Filipina (1892) is a document of prime importance for Spanish-Philippine political history.

Rizal is, to almost all Americans, a semi-mythical character. Those who have been in contact with his people at home are inclined to think him a patriot who owes his fame to Spain's making him a martyr, and whose real talents and character have in consequence been overrated and magnified. The very few Americans who have read his political novels *Noli me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* in their full Spanish texts, not merely the garbled English versions of the first novel that have circulated in the United States, are aware that here was a very great Filipino, and a great man indeed. But the more one comes to know of the intimate details of his life, the greater he grows before one, not so much in ability, in promise of achievement, as in character. It is a

great pity that, after nearly ten years of American occupation of the Philippines, there are not available to American readers good English texts of both the above novels and a good biography of Rizal. We have not yet in our language even a sketch of his life that approaches adequacy.

JAMES A. LEROY.

MINOR NOTICES

The *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, Offices of the Society, pp. vii, 320) for 1906-1907, form the first volume of the third series, fitly begun in the year that found the society newly installed in its commodious quarters in the quiet precincts of South Square, Gray's Inn. In addition to the presidential address by the Rev. Dr. William Hunt, the volume contains eight papers. Sir Henry H. Howorth's long monograph on "The Rise of Caius Julius Caesar, with an Account of His Early Friends, Enemies and Rivals" comes down to the opening of Caesar's political career and is for the most part a very full and vivid relation of the various influences that must have shaped his early political opinions and ambitions. The author's learning is lightly handled nor has he hesitated to illuminate his narrative with many historical parallels. Following this paper are the remarks of Mr. J. Foster Palmer on the subject of political assassination, in which he argues that "nearly all political murders defeat their own ends". In Mr. G. J. Turner's article on "The Minority of Henry III.", of which the first part was read three years ago, the author discusses the authorities for the period and the state of political parties, and presents a mass of detailed information, drawn from the rolls of letters patent and close, relative to the surrender of castles by the barons. The paper is of much value not only on account of the results obtained, but as an illustration of the way in which records may be used to correct and supplement the less trustworthy statements of chroniclers. Under the title "Some Early Spanish Historians", Mr. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly treats very briefly of Bishop Lucas's *Chronicon* and the *Historia Gothica* of Archbishop Jiménez de Rada, and, at greater length, of Alfonso the Learned's *Crónica General* and of Menendez Pidal's recent edition of the last-named work. An able survey of "The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal, 1487-1807", by Miss A. B. Wallis Chapman, based on extensive researches in the Board of Trade Comm. MSS., the State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, and British Museum MSS., forms a sequel to Miss V. Shillington's paper on "The Beginnings of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance" printed in the preceding volume of *Transactions*. Among the subjects treated are the organization, privileges and activities of the English traders resident in Portugal, the development of the power of the English consuls there and the Brazilian trade, which after the

sixteenth century was the pivot upon which the commercial relations of the two countries turned. Mr. J. F. Chance continues his paper of the previous session on the northern policy of George I. to the death of Charles XII. of Sweden, in an account of "The Northern Treaties of 1719-20", and of the intricate preliminary negotiations. The discussion that followed the reading of the paper is briefly reported. The Rev. H. Isham Longden reviews the contents of "The Diaries (Home and Foreign) of Sir Justinian Isham, 1704-1735". Sir Justinian was on the Continent in the years 1704-1707 and 1718-1719, and met many persons of the highest rank. The Home Journals cover the period 1708-1735 and give a picture of life in the country and in London. Dr. James Gairdner has an article "On a Contemporary Drawing of the Burning of Brighton in the Time of Henry VIII.", and Mr. Hubert Hall edits "Some Elizabethan Penances in the Diocese of Ely", documents that appear to be citations announcing the sentences of the consistory court upon offenses against either religion or morality.

F. G. D.

The Law and Custom of the Constitution. By Sir William R. Anson, Bart., D.C.L., Warden of All Souls College, Oxford. In three volumes. Vol. II., Part I. *The Crown.* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907, pp. xxxii, 283.) The first edition of part two of Sir William Anson's *Law and Custom of the Constitution* appeared in 1892, the second in 1896. In the third edition the volume is to be divided. The present installment embraces four of the ten chapters of the original volume, presented in a transposed order, which the author, now prefers: The Prerogative of the Crown, the Councils of the Crown, the Departments of Government and the Ministers of the Crown, the Title to the Crown and the Relation of Sovereign and Subject. The new edition is the result of so complete a working-over of the former material that there are few paragraphs in which some change has not been made. The amount of additional material may be shown by the statement that what occupied 210 pages in the first edition occupies 270 pages in the present edition. The mode of treatment in the original edition, differing from that of many other treatises upon the English constitution, was largely historical. In the third edition the amount of historical material has been much increased, especially in respect to the pages on the earlier history of cabinet government. In respect to later times much use has been made of the letters of Queen Victoria and of other recent books, and apposite illustrations from the practices of the last few years have been substituted for many that figure in the earlier editions. The book as it stands is, for the subjects which this volume treats, the most useful to historical students of all such treatises.

Colección de Documentos para el Estudio de la Historia de Aragón. Tomo III. *Documentos correspondientes al Reinado de Sancho Ramírez.* Volumen I., desde MLXIII hasta MLXXXIII años. *Documentos*

Reales procedentes de la Real Casa y Monasterio de San Juan de la Peña. Transcripción, Prólogo y Notas de José Salarrullana de Dios, Catedrático de Historia en la Universidad de Zaragoza. [Zaragoza, M. Escar, tipógrafo, 1907, pp. xix, 268.] This third volume of the co-operative series of sources for the history of Aragon which was initiated in 1904 by Professor Ibarra, of the University of Saragossa, with a volume of the documents of the reign of Ramiro I. (1034-1063), and was continued, in 1905, by another Aragonese scholar, with an edition of the *Forum Turolii* (code of Teruel, granted by Alfonso II. in 1176), now resumes, at the hands of Professor Salarrullana de Dios, the chronological sequence, containing such of the documents of Ramiro's succession as found preservation in the famous royal monastery of San Juan de la Peña, though now treasured in the Archivo Historico Nacional at Madrid. Fifty-six in number, they are mainly privileges and donations for that monastery and derive their chief historical interest from their mentions of persons and of places.

Essai sur les Rapports de Pascal II. avec Philippe I^{er} (1099-1108). Par Bernard Monod. (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. xxvii, 163.) The pontificate of Paschal II. has not generally passed for a glorious epoch in the history of the papacy, and in comparison with his immediate predecessors, Gregory VII. and Urban II., he has seemed feeble and vacillating. Monod presents a different view, maintaining that Paschal was a skilful opportunist who succeeded in relieving the tense situation which the intransigent policy of the reforming popes had created between the papacy and France, and thus secured the support of the French king in his difficulties with the empire. Moreover, by reducing the investiture question to its proper place, he was able to devote his energies to the more important problems of ecclesiastical reform out of which that issue had arisen. The author believes that the influence of Ives of Chartres brought about in France a compromise on the matter of investiture and episcopal elections similar to the understanding reached with Henry I. in 1106—an interesting suggestion, but one which can hardly be established from existing evidence. Philip I., who is generally considered one of the weakest and least worthy of the Capetians, is here presented as a ruler of considerable force and some degree of political wisdom. The monograph rests upon careful study and a good understanding of the age with which it deals, and shows independence of judgment in the face of the conclusions of such writers as Luchaire and Imbart de la Tour. The death of Bernard Monod, which occurred shortly after the completion of his academic studies, frustrated the hope of those who looked to him to maintain in the coming generation the family tradition of sound historical scholarship established by the editor of the *Revue Historique*; and the present volume has been prepared for publication by his father and certain of his fellow-students. C. H. H.

The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela. Critical text, translation and commentary by Marcus Nathan Adler, M.A. (London, Oxford University Press, 1907, pp. xvi, 94, vi, 89.) The *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* will always hold a high place among the records of medieval travellers, and is of much interest not only to the student of the history of the Jews in the Middle Ages, but also to the student of the Crusades. For, if we are to accept Mr. Adler's dates (compare his discussion of this topic, p. 1, note 2), Benjamin was absent from Europe "between the years 1166 and 1171". As it was precisely during these years that events culminated in the extension of Nur-ed-din's sway over Egypt (Saladin having succeeded his uncle as vizier of the Fatimid caliph in March, 1169, and the Fatimid caliphate coming to an end in September, 1171), it is at once clear at what a critical period in the history of the Crusades Benjamin visited the Orient, and how valuable the record is which a keen and intelligent traveller like him would give of what he had seen and heard, especially in Syria, Bagdad and Egypt.

The present volume is, for the most part, a reprint of articles which appeared in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, volumes XVI., XVII., XVIII. In his discussion of the Bibliography (Introduction, pp. xiii-xvi) Mr. Adler points out that while Asher's edition (2 volumes, 1840, 1841) is the best, it, as well as the others, was based on the printed editions of 1543 and 1556, Asher not having a single manuscript to consult in case of doubtful readings. Mr. Adler, however, was "fortunate enough to be able to trace and examine three complete MSS. of Benjamin's Travels, as well as large fragments belonging to two other MSS." The result of his study of these documents is the present critical text, the basis for which he has used the manuscript belonging to the British Museum, the variants being noted in all cases. Mr. Adler has added indexes to both the Hebrew text and to the translation, the references being in all cases to the pages of Asher's edition, which are indicated on the margins of both the Hebrew and the English text. The six facsimiles of portions of the various manuscripts add to the usefulness of the book, as does the excellent map of Western Asia at the time of Saladin and of Syria, showing Saladin's conquests, 1187-1190. The English text is accompanied by numerous notes, both the English and the Hebrew are clearly printed, and the whole makes an attractive little volume which ought to prove valuable both to those who use Asher's edition and to those unable to have access to it.

An Introduction to the History of Modern Europe. By Archibald Weir, M.A. (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1907, pp. xv, 340.) Mr. Weir's object in this brief and, in general, very excellent little book is "to review in their logical connection the chief groups of events which formed the groundwork of European history in the nineteenth century". He distinctly believes that our historical problem is something more than summarizing past politics and calling it

history. He believes that the industrial change is the main line of evolution in the nineteenth century. "The principle of comfort and opportunity for all has yet to be exhibited in its full meaning; but it is as clearly of quite peculiar character as its realization is evidently the function of our age."

The first six chapters deal with medieval survivals in the eighteenth century, the efforts and failures of the reforming despots of the century, the causes of the Revolution, Napoleon's rule as a reforming influence, the quickening of Germany, Italy and Spain, and the movements (largely political) in Russia, Scandinavia and Turkey. The purpose of these chapters is praiseworthy. They are stimulating but not informative. In order to be brief they are filled with generalities (e. g., about Joseph II.), vague statements, philosophic phrases (p. 58) and allusions to what history teaches. The first chapter, on the survivals of medievalism, in the eighteenth century, has the greatest possibilities in it and is the most disappointing. In view of the paucity of material in English on the subject, the brief chapter on the enlightened despots is more worth while. There are very sane views on the American influence in France (p. 68) and on pre-Revolutionary conditions (p. 70), though the French nobles are given a rather too clean bill (p. 74). Napoleon has to do without background or extra-European interests but it is refreshing to find in such a brief account an appreciation of Scharnhorst in Prussia and Speranski in Russia.

Beginning with chapter seven, on the industrial revolution, Mr. Weir finds himself in more congenial surroundings and the succeeding chapters on the new mechanics and new economics, positive science and critical philosophy, contain accounts of those subjects which are excellent brief works in the best sense of "higher popularization". Chapters ten and eleven are on the literary movements and tendencies in Germany and England to about 1830. The concluding chapter is a review of Mr. Weir's conclusions with emphasis on the industrial character of modern history and the new demands its breadth of interests makes on modern historical investigation.

The accompanying bibliography is a mere check-list but the entries are interesting. It is novel and indicative to find reference to histories of chemistry, palaeontology, music, cotton manufacture, horse-shoeing and agriculture.

Selected chapters of this little book will make good supplementary reading and be helpful and stimulating to any person of culture and wide-reading, or to the student stall-fed on the husks of political details.

G. S. FORD.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von Ludwig Pastor. Vierter Band: *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance und der Glaubensspaltung von der Wahl Leos X. bis zum Tode Klemens' VII. (1513-1534).* Zweite Abteilung: *Adrian VI. und*

Klemens VII. (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1907, pp. xlvii, 799.) The second-half of this fourth volume followed the first with surprising closeness. Its bulk, as befits the longer period covered, is slightly greater; its method is the same conscientious and thorough one; its tone, alas, shows an unwelcome change. Pope Adrian VI., scholar and reformer, was, to a much greater degree than his predecessors, a pope after Dr. Pastor's own heart. He was, too, as his historian cannot refrain from reminding us, even in the half-title of the section devoted to him, "the last German Pope". With his sympathies thus doubly enlisted, it is perhaps not strange that the historian, in dealing with those who in Italy misunderstood and baffled his hero's efforts for the reform of the papal court and with those who in the fatherland so harshly repelled his overtures for the healing of schism, should betray his own antipathy to Italian and to Lutheran. Perhaps, too, his approach to a field made familiar by the studies which a quarter-century and more ago fruited in his monograph on "the efforts for ecclesiastical reunion during the reign of Charles V." revives the stronger feeling of an earlier day. Be the causes what they may, that singular superiority to prejudice which has hitherto enabled Professor Pastor to treat with such fairness and insight even those whom he counted the foes of his faith now largely deserts him.

Nor does it return while he deals with the pontificate of Clement VII. For that pontiff himself, though to his shifting and haggling policy he ascribes the disruption of the church, he can show both consideration and appreciation; but the heretics, though treated with courtesy and learning, remain unintelligible. Yet it is but fair to add that the plan of his work permits no very minute handling. A single chapter of forty pages tells the whole story of the Lutheran schism, from the death of Pope Adrian to the so-called religious peace of Nuremberg, in 1532. Another, slightly shorter, narrates the English revolt from Rome; and one of less than a score of pages suffices for the spread of heresy in Scandinavia, among the Swiss and in the Romanic lands. Of the Anabaptist separatists one hears as yet nothing at all. It is with evident satisfaction that in his closing chapter, a longer one, the historian turns to "the beginnings of the Catholic Reformation". The usual appendix of documents completes the volume.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Svenska Porträtt i Offentliga Samlingar, utgifna under Medverkan af Personhistoriska Samfundet. Af N. Sjöberg. I. *Drottningsholm*. II. *Gripsholm: Vasatiden*. (Stockholm, Hasse W. Tullberg, 1905, 1907, pp. 52, xiv, 69 and 100 plates.) These are the first two volumes in a proposed series of six volumes quarto, in which, if sufficient subscriptions enable the publisher to continue, he will present a selection of three hundred of the most important Swedish historical portraits preserved in public collections. The first volume contains portraits from

the château of Drottningholm, the second those out of the great collection at Gripsholm (a collection numbering 1800 in all) which relate to the times of the Vasas. The reproductions and explanatory text are excellent, the latter cataloguing all the paintings of the period, not solely those reproduced. As works of art, these portraits of kings, members of the royal family, councillors and generals, are seldom of high excellence, though important for the history of Swedish art (mostly portrait art at the beginning) and of the foreign painters, chiefly German and Dutch, whom the Vasa kings imported. But for biographical and historical purposes the portraits are of great value and interest. Earliest of all is a wooden portrait-statue of Charles VIII. There are excellent portraits of Gustavus Vasa, Queen Margareta Leijonhufvud and their children. Of Gustavus Adolphus the collections unfortunately contain nothing that is good, and the best portraits of Christina are elsewhere. On the other hand there is a good Oxenstjerna by Mierevelt, and interesting portraits, though mostly by unknown artists, of many of the other great men who served Christina and her father. The collection at Drottningholm begins with the late seventeenth century, with Queen Hedvig Eleonora, the builder of the château, and her court painters, David Ehrenstrahl and David von Krafft, the Lely and Kneller of Swedish portrait painting; it abounds in portraits of Queen Louisa Ulrika and her family, and ends with the house of Bernadotte.

A Sea-Dog of Devon: A Life of Sir John Hawkins. By R. A. Walling. With Introduction by Lord Brassey and John Leyland. (New York, The John Lane Company, 1907, pp. xii, 288.) This book is essentially a contribution to the lighter literature of Elizabethan naval history—readable and attractive but by no means accurate or scholarly. A very cursory perusal of it suffices to show that the author lacks the training and equipment necessary to a thorough treatment of his subject. His authorities are little more than Hakluyt, Froude and Corbett; they are rarely cited at all, and never fully. The work abounds in misleading generalizations and errors of fact—as for instance on pages 18–19 where England is described as having been in 1527–1528 “hand in glove” in alliance with Spain against France. Perhaps absolute impartiality in judging Spain and Spaniards ought not to be expected in a work on Hawkins, but an approach to it would be a *desideratum*. One cannot help smiling when the author, after having recited the well-known tales how the English Lord High Admiral compelled King Philip by a cannon-shot, when he came to marry Queen Mary, to strike his flag in homage to that of England, and how Hawkins in 1567 did likewise by a Spanish admiral off Plymouth Harbor, remarks that these incidents are “significant of the British determination thus early that no power, however great and aggressive, should be allowed to assume an overlordship of the seas” (p. 8). The justifications for slave-trading are unnecessary

and much too often repeated. The spelling of foreign words and proper names is throughout most remarkable (*e. g.*, *vertu* for *virtù*, p. 161; *Moçada* for *Monçada*, p. 230), and the style, though vigorous and picturesque, abounds in colloquialisms (*e. g.*, "Margarita was drawn blank", p. 67; "taradiddle", p. 159; "foxy", p. 166). The index is so incomplete that it would have been better to omit it entirely.

These comments will perhaps serve to show that Mr. Walling's book is scarcely entitled to consideration as a serious historical work. In justice to him it should be said that an early paragraph in chapter 1. (pp. 4-5) disclaims any pretense to a complete biography, though the good effect of this modesty is somewhat marred by the surprising statement in the same passage that John Hawkins has "never yet had a biographer", which is to ignore the work of John Campbell, Robert Southey and others. An account of Mr. Walling's book in a review intended primarily for historical scholars cannot well be favorable, but that does not mean that the general public does not owe him a debt of gratitude for popularizing the knowledge of a man whose career exerted an important influence on the history of two continents.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Le Protestantisme en Saintonge sous le Régime de la Révocation (1685-1789). Par L.-J. Nazelle, Docteur de l'Université de Paris. (Paris, Fischbacher, 1907, pp. 329.) This is an intensive study of Protestantism in Saintonge in the period lying between the revocation of the edict of Nantes and the Revolution. The province chosen was one in which the Huguenots had been especially strong; and its physical features, while totally unlike the topography of the Cévennes, played a considerable part in protecting the persecuted faith from the suppressive endeavors of the government. The first part deals with the state of Protestantism in Saintonge in the last years of the reign of Louis XIV. The vigilance of the intendants was relaxed under his successor and there was a partial but precarious rehabilitation of Huguenot worship. Some of the government's officers undoubtedly believed in toleration and were therefore lenient in enforcing the revocation; but more of them seem to have recognized the impossibility of utterly stamping out heresy and, as a police policy, to have preferred quasi-public meetings of the Huguenots, when they could be watched, to secret open-air meetings. Accordingly while the authorities did not permit the erection of Protestant temples, they winked at the establishment of more temporary structures known as *maisons de prière*, where in accordance with a recommendation as old as 1558 "les chapitres, les prières et les sermons, aussi bien que les psaumes . . . devaient être lus ou chantés en l'absence des pasteurs." Farther than this the authorities would not suffer the Huguenots to go. The convocation of colloquies and synods was rigorously forbidden, and when these were held, it was done secretly, the very summons being in cipher-

writing. Nevertheless, in spite of the comparative leniency of the officials, the Saintonge continually lost by emigration. Many of the Huguenots went to America—the author mentions Charleston, New Rochelle, Virginia and Alabama as places, and adds: “on montre encore une maison portant le nom de Faneuil *House*, donné sans doute à cet édifice par quelques membres des mêmes familles Faneuil, mentionnées dans le procès J.-F. Mesnard, de Marennnes, en 1755.” A note on page 201 calls attention to the fact that the archives of Charente-Inférieure contain much material of interest to the descendants of French Protestant refugees in America. The archivist is M. L. de Richmond.

The reviewer has nothing but praise for the body of this work. But some of the author's ideas stated in the introduction seem rather far-fetched, as for example, his explanation of the prevalence of Protestantism in Saintonge by the fact that most of the population were fisher-folk.

He is, moreover, not sufficiently well acquainted with the history of Protestantism before 1685 and fails to understand the law. The edict of Nantes was a particular grant and never a constitutional guarantee, intended to be irrevocable. In the nature of French absolutism it could not have been so. It is false interpretation of the law and unhistorical for M. Nazelle to say that the revocation of the edict of Nantes “renversait l'édifice de la société française: la liberté de conscience”; nor was the revocation in any sense “un coup de foudre”. The long series of edicts beginning in 1665 which pared down, one by one, the privileges granted by Henry IV., gradually sapped the edict of all force, so that the Act of 1685 was the conclusion of a long-continued policy and the consummation of an all but accomplished fact.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Dampier's Voyages. By Captain William Dampier. Edited by John Masefield. In two volumes. (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1906, pp. ix, 612; vii, 624.) That the charm of Dampier's narratives of his voyages has not faded is evidenced by this new edition of his writings; while in themselves, their reissue is justified by their importance. These two well-made volumes, with their beautiful type-page, and the ease with which they can be handled, will be welcomed by those who have had occasion to use the previous editions. The first volume contains the narrative of the voyage round the world, and the first three chapters of the supplement to the voyage. The second volume contains the conclusion of the supplement, the Campeachy voyage, the discourse of winds, storms, etc. and the voyage to New Holland. In addition the editor gives in volume I. a short life of Dampier, and in an appendix notes regarding Dampier's associates, both of which are valuable. Volume II. contains in appendixes various documents from the Record Office relating to the voyage to New

Holland, and the voyage of Dampier in the *St. George* in the years 1703-1705. Among these documents are his famous and ill-advised "Vindication" and the courts-martial documents. The voyages, with the exception of that to New Holland which is taken from the new edition of 1729, are reprinted from the sixth edition of 1717. It is regrettable that the editor did not present the annotated MS. of the "New Voyage round the World" in Sloane MS. 3236, in the British Museum, which differs from the printed edition, and which he has used only for annotation. The maps and other drawings of Dampier are well reproduced. The editorial annotations are not all that one might expect, and are often superficial. For but few of them are authorities cited, and some of them are misleading or incorrect. For example, note 2, page 58, should state that the term "mestizo" is understood in Spanish or Latin America as meaning the descendant of a white and an Indian, as there are other uses of the term in other parts of the world, notably in the Orient. It is somewhat inaccurate to speak of the S. W. monsoon, in note 2, page 330. It has been clearly shown by the work of the Jesuits in the meteorological laboratory at Manila that the Philippines have no true monsoons. Note 1, page 332, is badly twisted. Later ethnological research reduces the number of tribes in Mindanao, as indeed throughout the Philippines. The Jesuits did good preliminary work in Mindanao, but since they were not trained ethnologists, they did not perceive that often the names given to a group of people were simply local. There are *not* twenty-four distinct tribes in Mindanao. The guess that "the 'Sologues' may be the 'Moros' a warrior tribe from Borneo, which settled in northern Mindanao at the end of the sixteenth century" is puerile. They were the Joloans or Sulus who inhabit the island of Joló. "Moros" is a term used by the Spaniards to designate the followers of Mahomet, and is applied in common to such in the Philippine and in some of the adjacent islands. Again the migration was of a much earlier date. Many of the geographical notes are excellent. The index appended to volume II. is, as in the majority of historical works, open to criticism.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Ralph Heathcote. Letters of a Young Diplomatist and Soldier during the Time of Napoleon. Edited by Countess Günther Gröben. (New York, The John Lane Company, 1907, pp. xxiv, 296.) Ralph Heathcote (1782-1854) was the son of the minister plenipotentiary of George III. at the courts of Bonn and Cassel. His mother, to whom these letters are addressed, was an Alsatian baroness, Antoinette de Wolter. After the death of his father in 1801 he held the appointment of secretary of the British legation at Cassel for two years before the dismissal of the British minister from that court at the behest of Napoleon in February, 1806. Heathcote then entered the army. Having served for a time under Lord Cathcart in Scotland and at Copenhagen, he was sent to the

Peninsula in 1809; and during the later years of this correspondence, which ceases in 1814, he was attached to Wellington's headquarters. Notwithstanding Heathcote's favorable position for recording events of importance, the letters are historically colorless. His purpose in them was, in fact, to reassure his mother, then in Germany, concerning his personal safety. With this amiable object he minimized systematically, and even falsified, his military activity; moreover, the French police exercising at the time a blockade against English correspondence on the northern coast, he courted lenity on their part in passing his letters by shunning in them affairs of moment. Nevertheless the letters, which are well written and entertaining, afford an interesting picture, within narrow limits, of Heathcote's surroundings and time; and they evince in the writer a practical, well-balanced nature, with humor and penetration, which one can only regret that the situation forbade him to apply here to weightier matters. Heathcote, at the close of the war, retired to Cassel; and this edition of his letters is printed from recently discovered originals in the possession of his granddaughter, the editor.

H. M. BOWMAN.

Napoleon at the Boulogne Camp. By Fernand Nicolay. Translated by Georgina L. Davis. (New York, The John Lane Company, 1907, pp. x, 400.) This volume has gained in interest by modesty of purpose. The author has not attempted an elaborate chronological history of the Boulogne Camp, a theme rather circumscribed and dull for such a narrative. Instead he has gathered, under a variety of topics, the wealth of details and typical incidents connected with this enterprise of Napoleon and its executants. M. Nicolay is the possessor of a number of unpublished documents concerning the camp, and otherwise he has peculiar advantages for the production of this volume. His father, a citizen of Boulogne, was the owner of the site historically famous for its association with Bonaparte and Bruix; and the author, during many years spent on his father's property, had abundant opportunity of collecting information on the spot from old men who had seen and talked with Napoleon and served under him. Details gathered from such a source may not command strict confidence, but they represent enough of the truth to justify the author's view that the work is of psychological interest to the public, and in other respects it is a useful contribution to military history.

M. Nicolay has distributed his material throughout twenty chapters upon the most varied subjects, some in lighter vein, others serious. They cover, among other points, the housing, habits, preparations and amusements of the army and its chief. One of the most interesting chapters is devoted to an appreciation of Admiral Bruix. In another there is a comparison of Napoleon's scheme of an English invasion with the Roman conquest by Caesar. The interest of the volume centres generally, as the title indicates, in Napoleon, the pleasanter features of

whose character are skilfully presented. With a warm enthusiasm for Napoleon the author combines a deep religious feeling; and one of the charms of his work is its broad and kindly sympathy and the absence of all bitterness towards England and towards French political parties of other tendencies than his own. Characteristic, in this particular, is his statement that the statue of Napoleon on the site of the Boulogne Camp fell one night during a violent storm in 1894, in spite of the iron braces placed for its support; with an explanation, relegated to a quaintly courteous note, that the storm had been assisted, in the overthrow of the statue, by anti-Bonapartists. The value and interest of the volume is heightened by an excellent, thoroughly idiomatic translation.

H. M. BOWMAN.

Bonaparte in Egypt and the Egyptians of To-day. By Haji A. Browne. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. 410.) The author of this book, who declares himself "almost an Oriental in thought and sympathy" (p. 12), wishes to promote certain phases of Pan-Islamism and the "development of friendly relations between the Moslems of the East and the British Empire" (p. 6). "But histories", he soon adds, "as they are written, are rarely more than chafing-dish hashes of the 'funeral baked meats' of court chronicles served up with a posset of platitudes and pedantry for sauce" (p. 15). To escape such perils, whether culinary or scholastic, the author aims "to gain for the Egyptian more generous consideration than he is commonly accorded" (p. 21). In this attempt Bonaparte and "Mahomed Ali" become the "most eminent of that miserable majority" [of fools]; and Bonaparte goes through life "his mental stockings and clothing generally shiftlessly loose and out of order" (p. 286).

It is unfortunate that 274 pages are devoted to the French occupation, nineteen pages to the period 1801-1898, and 105 pages to the subsequent years. The author's judgment on contemporary politics, the information he gives, the alteration in style and vocabulary which distinguish the last quarter of the book emphasize this regret. This is not necessarily endorsement of all that is there said, but the point of view and conclusions deserve notice. The alliance between Nationalist and Radical is judged dangerous to the best interests of Nationalism and of Islam; the English occupation has not qualified the Egyptians "to undertake the government of the country. It has not educated the people, or done anything whatever to insure the permanency of the good that has been done" (p. 387). But on the other hand the occupation "has secured them [the Egyptians] the personal freedom they so highly prize, it has given them the liberty of getting, keeping or spending wealth, a free Press, a knowledge and keen appreciation of the advantages of a properly organized Government, a clearer perception of the natural 'rights of man' and of the personal dignity of the humblest, and, as a result of these, enlarged ambitions and aspirations, greater indepen-

dence of spirit, and a better conception of the interdependence of each one upon his fellow-men" (p. 387).

The author has for twelve years openly advocated autonomous government for Egypt; but events in connection with the resignation of Lord Cromer have apparently compelled him to modify his views. In the six concluding pages written after Lord Cromer's resignation had been announced, and after the preceding pages were already in type, the author writes regretfully of the action of the Egyptians in refusing "to join in any expression of thanks to Lord Cromer for his long and brilliant services". This, he adds, "apart from all else or anything else, demonstrates in the most absolute manner the fact that they are not yet fit for self-government" (p. 396). "'Egypt for the Egyptians' in any literal interpretation of the phrase is an idle dream" (p. 398). Could not these conclusions have been reached on an earlier yet terminal page? Nowhere in the book, it should be added, are any references to the sources for statements made.

A. L. P. D.

Marginal Notes by Lord Macaulay. Selected and arranged by Sir George Otto Trevelyan. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1907, pp. 65.) As readers of Sir George Trevelyan's life of his uncle must be aware, it was Macaulay's habit to write notes upon the margins of books that he read and especially of the astonishing number of books that he read again and again. In this little book Sir George has made an entertaining discourse out of these notes, quoting many that are not highly important, to be sure, but also reproducing many sound and judicious observations. The historical reader will be particularly interested in the series of comments relating to Cicero, whose combination of the literary, oratorical and political life made him an object of especial interest to Macaulay.

The Early Federation Movement of Australia. By C. D. Allin. (Kingston, Ontario, The British Whig Publishing Company, 1907, pp. xii, 431.) This work covers the federal movement in Australia to the year 1863. Attention is given in it almost exclusively to political and Parliamentary aspects, the only possible mode of treatment in a period when the movement depended solely on the policy of the colonial secretary, Earl Grey, and on the activity of a few leading members of Australian legislatures, notably Deas Thompson and Wentworth of New South Wales. The author, having traced in his introduction the disintegration of the original territory of New South Wales into the present states of the island commonwealth, locates, in his first chapter, the germ of federation in the suggestion by Deas Thompson and Governor Fitz-Roy of some common regulation of intercolonial trade; and he discusses, in the second, the development of this suggestion by Earl Grey into the federal clauses of the Australian Colonies Bill, which were withdrawn

successively in 1849 and 1850. Up to this point the propelling force of the movement was in the Colonial Office; but henceforth the home authorities assumed the position that the initiative must come from the Australian legislatures. In Australia public opinion favored generally a uniform regulation of intercolonial customs, but toward the suggestion of a general assembly the feeling was, in the main, apathetic or hostile. During the twenty years under discussion in this volume, the high-water mark of the movement was reached in 1857. In that year the Parker government in New South Wales, under the influence of Deas Thompson, committed itself to a policy of federation; and its chief sister-colony, Victoria, and South Australia approved the principle of federal union. The project, however, wanting real strength among the people of New South Wales, was abandoned presently by its advocates in that colony, and in consequence, by Victoria. In 1861 the home government discontinued the empty title of governor-general, borne for some years by its representative in Sydney, and the other colonies were raised to full gubernatorial rank. Mr. Allin's work is a clear exposition of his theme and has the merit of being well written. It is not free of occasional slips, but the only objection of consequence, to which the volume as a whole appears to be open, is a too exhaustive treatment.

Memoirs of Monsieur Claude, Chief of Police under the Second Empire. Translated by Katharine Prescott Wormeley. (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1907, pp. v, 321.) This book consists of a translation of a few passages from the *Memoirs of Claude* which appeared in 1881 and which fill ten volumes in the original. The translation is admirable but the book has no value for the student of French history, though it may be of mild interest to the lover of detective stories. The selections have evidently been made with an eye to the picturesque. The style is melodramatic and ejaculatory.

Though there is frequent mention of Louis Philippe, Napoleon, Thiers and others, they serve no higher purpose than as pegs on which this policeman hangs a few anecdotes. The book entirely lacks documentation. There move through its pages certain alleged important persons but their identity is veiled under tantalizing anonymity, notably: M. de L—, who, under the Second Empire, rose "to a pinnacle of power" and "La Prussienne", a Prussian spy of whom it is asserted on page 208 that the harm she did to the empire was "incalculable", contributing largely in the end "to the declaration of the Prussian war". The deeds of this malefic woman are not developed, interesting as that would be for the historian.

On page 309 it is stated that Thiers "produced" the revolution of September, 1870. Again the historian would enjoy an adequate treatment of an interesting idea. On page 133 it is said that Bismarck, "in 1860, the Prussian Chancellor" [*sic*], was working for the acquisition of Alsace, whereas it has been hitherto supposed that he was at that time cooling off on the banks of the Neva.

The book abounds in childish interpretations of events, in *ex post facto* knowledge and in spontaneous and recurrent self-laudation.

Court Life of the Second French Empire, 1852-1870. By Le Petit Homme Rouge. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. xii, 429.) The choice of the *nom-de-plume* under which this volume appears is explained in the preface as due to the tradition that a little red man haunted the Tuileries, giving warning of impending changes of régime, frequently following its habitués in their journeys from place to place and incidentally accumulating a large stock of information about them. The *nom-de-plume* is understood to conceal the identity of a well-known English journalist, who, for some reason not at all apparent in the character of the book, desires that his name should not be openly associated with it. The author writes from considerable personal knowledge and an extensive use of the memoirs of the period.

From the standpoint of the serious historian, the book is decidedly above the average of the class to which it belongs. Two qualities not ordinarily found in such books especially commend it. The author has a very fair degree of critical spirit and accordingly uses his materials with discrimination. He also is sufficiently familiar with the political history of the empire so that positive blunders are very few, and there are quite a number of really illuminating estimates of men and events.

The principal defects are in matters of style, although in general the book reaches the level of good journalistic writing. It is hard to suppose that even the most avaricious consumer of details of court life can possibly care for all of the items in a good many of the very minute descriptions, nor can they be supposed to care to have the entire payroll of the imperial establishment set forth along with the supposed pecuniary value of pretty nearly all of the furnishings. The *risqué* element which necessarily appears in such a book is told without mincing of words, condonation or condemnation.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Mr. Edward Cadogan in his *Life of Cavour* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. xi, 385) at once arouses his readers' suspicions by deploring in his preface the "paucity" of material on Cavour, and the general incompleteness or inaccuracy of the lives that have been written about him. We soon discover that Mr. Cadogan cannot read Italian—hence his cry of "paucity". The fact is, of course, that the amount of authoritative material about Cavour is enormous. There are, for instance, at least thirty volumes (if we include his speeches and essays), which may be said to have autobiographical validity. Buzzi-coni's Cavour bibliography, published in 1897, already listed more than 500 titles, including pamphlets, essays and magazine articles, among many of which indispensable first-hand material is to be found. Indeed, it would be impossible to name any British statesman of the nineteenth

century about whom so much source-material is now accessible; and this small library of Cavouriana reveals Cavour on all sides—as politician, as orator, as economist, as man of the world, as friend and as autobiographer laying bare his inmost self. “Paucity” is hardly the word Mr. Cadogan should have chosen.

An examination of Mr. Cadogan's book discloses that he talks of “paucity” in order to hide his own ignorance of Italian. His method is to take right and left from the English or French books on Cavour and his times, without credit for the most part, and to assume the air of one who has at last produced a *magnum opus*. He has no foot-notes, no references and in the comparatively few cases where he mentions the names of the writers whom he plunders, he cites neither volume nor page. Sometimes, he takes whole passages—as for instance, on page 188, where he steals bodily nine lines from Countess Cesaresco's *Cavour* (p. 129) without quotation marks. He even borrows translations from French originals, where a man of ordinary intelligence would make his own. This means that in the case of Romilly's paraphrase of De La Rive's *Reminiscences* we do not get the exact equivalent of what De La Rive said. But exactness does not trouble Mr. Cadogan. In his 380 pages it would be easy to point out many hundred errors, great and small; from the date of Cavour's birth, and the misspelling of Ratazzi, Radetzki and many other proper names, to such egregious blunders as his supposing throughout that Massimo d'Azeglio and his nephew Emanuele were one and the same person. Nowhere is there evidence that he has taken even ordinary precaution to verify his statements. Let a single instance suffice. On page 146 he says: “While in Paris the Emperor is supposed to have enquired of the King: ‘What can be done for Italy?’ It is probable that this story is purely imaginary”, etc. Now if Mr. Cadogan could read Italian, he would find in Chiala's edition of Cavour's *Lettere*, vol. II. p. 376 (second edition), the famous letter of December 8, 1855, in which Cavour tells M. d'Azeglio that the evening before Napoleon III. addressed that very question to him (Cavour) and not to the king. There was nothing “imaginary” about it.

Mr. Cadogan, being cut off from the authorities, makes much of Edward Dacey's early journalistic books, and of Bent's *Garibaldi* and Jerrold's *Napoleon III.*, merely to refer to which discloses the state of his information. The only material which he seems not to have cribbed, consists of two or three quotations from the *London Times*; but possibly he did not look these up for himself.

Mr. Cadogan is, we learn, a product of Balliol. Reading his book, with its pretense to learning which its author does not possess; with its disregard on every page of honest historical methods; and with its bluff at being a pioneer in a field which has already been well explored, we are at a loss to decide whether Jowett's college has greater need of up-to-date instruction in history or in the elements of ethics.

Guide to the Archives of the Government of the United States in Washington. By Claude Halstead Van Tyne and Waldo Gifford Leland. Second Edition, revised and enlarged by W. G. Leland. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1907, pp. xiii, 327.) The first edition of this book, the first publication of the Bureau (now Department) of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, was published in 1904 as a volume of 215 pages. The archives of the government of the United States remain in the same scattered and imperfectly organized condition in 1908 as in 1904. The need for a new edition, however, lay not merely in the exhaustion of the old, but in the fact that many changes of administrative subdivisions had meantime occurred, that some corrections and some extensions to the present date were requisite, and most of all that, with greater leisure for the work and greater appreciation by officials of its nature, it was possible to amplify largely on certain sides. In the former edition certain deposits, not unimportant for historical purposes, were described summarily upon the basis of incomplete official communications. For the present volume additional investigations of an elaborate character have been made by Mr. Leland and his assistants in the Bureau of Indexes and Archives of the Department of State, in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, in the Mail and Files Division of the Treasury Department, in the office of the chief clerk of the Department of Justice, in the Post-Office Department and in the Naval War Records Office. The information given respecting the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress is also much fuller than in the former edition, partly by reason of greater fullness of statement, mainly by reason of the constant additions which are being made to the treasures of that division. The volume has been supplied with a much more extensive index than its predecessor.

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1905. Volume II. *Bibliography of American Historical Societies* (The United States and the Dominion of Canada). By Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907, pp. 1374.) Long expected, this new edition of Mr. Griffin's indispensable bibliography (first edition, 1895) appears in March, 1908, in a portly tome of the same appearance as the Association's volume. It is however *hors série* in mode of acquisition, since it is only to be obtained by purchase from the Superintendent of Documents, to whom the price, one dollar, should be sent. The material is arranged as in the edition of 1895, in order of societies, and under societies in the serial or chronological order of issue. It is the order followed by Lasteyrie. Given the nature of the material, it is the only proper order. The difficulties which it produces may be obviated by having a properly elaborated index. That of 1895 was hardly sufficient. At all events, that of the present edition is vastly more complete. It fills 332 pages,

and its references are to the items, which are numbered, and not to the pages. So far as we have tested it, it seems excellent. As for the body of the text, it makes an advance on its predecessor not only in coming down ten years more, to the end of 1905 usually, but also in including not a few additional societies and in completing the lists in many instances by the addition of items which eluded the previous search. The preface should have included some statement as to the principles of inclusion and exclusion—why the American-Irish Historical Society and the National Geographic Society are included, the Scotch-Irish Congress and the American Economic Association left out, etc.

Imperfectly as we may sometimes complain that our historical societies fulfill their functions in respect to research and publication, we have here the record of a great body of valuable material. A good guide to such stores is an instrument of research in American history for which we ought to be exceedingly grateful. Mr. Griffin has, with enormous labor, provided one that is not only good, but extraordinarily good, both in respect to completeness and in respect to finished execution. Only one large criticism seems to the present reviewer justified. The attempt to include "separates" is doomed, if not to failure, at least to a degree of incompleteness out of harmony with the rest of the performance; it is on the whole not useful; and it adds much to the bulk of the book. Out of 7537 items in the book, probably two thousand are of this sort, entries repeating titles already given in the lists of contents of volumes. The two thousand items (if there are two thousand) are brief, but their absence would lighten the book by nearly two hundred pages. The searcher does not expect to find these "separates" in a library; he looks for the volumes in which they were printed for the public. That the bibliographer's hunt for them will be in large part vain may be shown by an example. Mr. Griffin lists six "separates" from the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*; about three hundred have been executed. But that he has given us more than is necessary must not obscure gratitude for the great service he has with infinite patience rendered to us all.

Probate Records of the Province of New Hampshire. Volume I., 1635-1717. By Albert Stillman Batchellor, editor of State Papers. (Concord, 1907, pp. 874.) This is the first of a series of four volumes containing the wills and abstracts of estates in probate from the earliest records to 1771, when the province was divided into counties.

New Hampshire has pursued a wise and liberal policy in the publication of province, Revolutionary, state and town papers. The four volumes of probate records, uniform in letter-press and binding, will constitute volumes XXXI.-XXXIV. of the general series. To the probate records of the province of New Hampshire is added in chronological order the records of the estates of mariners and of other men of

the province which were found in the records of Essex, Middlesex and Suffolk counties, Massachusetts, and in York county, Maine. It is an exhaustive work and presents constant evidence of research and vigilant carefulness in compilation. The wills are printed in full, with an occasional exception of a prelude which states no material fact, and in the abstracts of estates every item of interest is included. The book will obviously be of great utility to the genealogist. If in the laws of any period under consideration are mirrored the manners, customs and thought of the people, with equal force in the records of this volume are reflected the frugality, poverty and slender estates of a young and feeble colony. This series of Probate Records, covering nearly one hundred and forty years, will mark the growth and development of the province, the rewards of industry, the increment of inheritance and the general increase in the wealth of individuals.

The indexes are exhaustive, and in all essential features the work is well arranged and carefully edited.

Check-list of Boston Newspapers, 1704-1780. By Mary Farwell Ayer, with Bibliographical Notes by Albert Matthews. [Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, volume IX.] (Boston, The Society, 1907, pp. xviii, 527.) In the volume under review, Miss Mary Farwell Ayer has compiled a check-list of Boston newspapers from 1704 to 1780, giving the date of every separate issue of each newspaper so far as known, and the location of copies thereof in the American Antiquarian Society, Boston Athenaeum, Boston Public Library, Bostonian Society, Essex Institute, New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Harvard College Library, Library of Congress, Lenox Library, Massachusetts Historical Society, Massachusetts State Library, New York Historical Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania and State Historical Society of Wisconsin. This check-list covers 400 large octavo pages. Its compilation has been a stupendous work, comprising as it does nearly 250,000 bibliographical data. It is supplemented by detailed bibliographical notes by Albert Matthews, embracing the mutations in the title of each paper, dates of publication, publishers, printers and places of publication and the devices. The thoroughness with which this work is done is indicated by the fact that of the Boston newspapers published prior to 1780, it is estimated that there were 13,680 separate issues; of these 12,299 are known and have been located, leaving 1381 issues still to be accounted for. The New York Historical Society has the proud pre-eminence of owning the only approximately complete file of the *Boston News Letter* from 1704 to April, 1708. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has been strengthening its early newspaper files to an extraordinary degree. It may be suggested that while not attempting to embrace in the lists more libraries, it might have been worth while occasionally to have called attention to the existence of files outside of such lists. The New Jersey Historical Society has files

of the *New England Weekly Chronicle*, and of the *Boston Chronicle*; the Ridgeway branch of the Philadelphia Library has an enormous quantity of early American newspapers, particularly of the period of the Stamp Act, collected by Peter Du Simitiere. It is to be hoped that other historical societies will undertake newspaper check-lists similar to this for their respective states. The writer has compiled such a list of files of New Jersey newspapers, including several in private hands which are not to be found in any public library. The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, which has published this *Check-List* and Bibliographical Notes in a volume of 537 pages, has laid all students of American history under very great obligations by the issue of this handsome volume.

W. N.

The Last Siege of Louisburg. By C. Ochiltree MacDonald. (London, the Author, 1907, pp. xvi, 175.) This book is really a summary of events at and near Louisburg after the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, with accounts of cognate history in Nova Scotia, principally related to a defense of the Acadians and condemnation of their deportation in 1755. Less than one-half of its pages treat of the second siege of 1758, inclusive of poetry and quoted matter. The author was led to the work by a visit to the peninsula of Louisburg, and he avers that it "is a result of an examination of the histories of Nova Scotia, etc., now before the public; but to the material drawn from those invaluable records of our past is added some interesting matter gleaned by personal research among the records of the eighteenth century in England and the United States". But as he gives no foot-notes and seldom indicates his sources, and inadequately when he does mention them, his claim is largely vitiated. It is impossible to know when he follows an original document or such authors as Brown, Bourinot, Hannay and Murdock, even in his appendixes. Notwithstanding, he exhibits some independent criticism: for example, he shows that the British plan of attack in the second siege had consequences fatal to Ticonderoga and delayed the conquest of Canada. His lists of ships and his treatment of the naval aspects of the two sieges are the best parts of his work. It is regrettable that a large amount of poetry is interspersed, in which he "has occasionally availed himself of the Poet's licence". The method of the book is too minute for popular readers and too uncritical for specialists. The quotations from the newspapers often amount to surplusage. The brevity of chapter VII. (2 pp.) is singular and its contents are irrelevant. There is no systematic table of contents, nor maps, illustrations or index. Two lists of errata are given, to which a few more could be added. The author has been at pains to gather materials, but has failed to produce a work of constructive value.

V. H. P.

Williamsburg, the Old Colonial Capital. By Lyon Gardiner Tyler, LL.D., President of the College of William and Mary. (Richmond,

Va., Whittet and Shepperson, 1907, pp. 285.) President Tyler has given us the best and fullest account of "ancient" Williamsburg and its fine old college that we are likely to have in years to come. The place, its strategic importance when Jamestown was the capital of the colony, its settlement, the leading families who had a share in making both Virginia and its second capital, are described minutely and with great accuracy. Beside there are many maps, portraits and facsimilies which greatly add to the interest of the book. Some of the chapter-headings are Settlement and History, the College, the Governor's House, the Raleigh Tavern, and Noted Residences. Any one who wishes to get a glimpse of eighteenth-century life in Virginia, of miniature London when Walpole was the great minister, will do well to consult this little book. Aside from social things much is said about education in early Virginia, the origin of the Revolution and the source of the ideals which dominated Virginia in the first half of the nineteenth century. There is also a wealth of genealogical data which will be of interest to the descendants of the many families that migrated from the Williamsburg neighborhood to the South and West. The volume is substantially bound and unexceptionably printed except for the highly glazed paper which was probably unavoidable owing to the needs of the illustrator.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1761-1765. Edited by John Pendleton Kennedy. (Richmond, 1907, pp. lxxvi, 383.) *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1758-1761.* Edited by H. R. McIlwaine. (Richmond, 1908, pp. xix, 313.) In this exceedingly handsome series of Journals, published in the reverse of the chronological order, three volumes have preceded those named above. The transition from the fourth to the fifth, the former edited by the former librarian of the Virginia State Library, the latter by his successor, is marked by some changes of plan. The text of the journals is presented in the same manner. Much might be said of it, if it were possible to review adequately so miscellaneous a composition as the journal of a legislative assembly. Suffice it to say that the reproducing of these journals, printed but mostly unique, makes it for the first time possible to write the history of our chief colony in the last years of the Seven Years War and the interval between it and the resolutions against the Stamp Act. The differences between the two volumes lie in the treatment of the material hitherto comprised in the introductions. Mr. Kennedy's introduction to the volume for 1761-1765 is long. Its pages mainly consist of documents of the period. Many are taken from George Bancroft's transcripts of British papers; twelve pages are composed of documents needlessly repeated from the body of the journals. The expository narrative of Mr. Kennedy, often carelessly written, consists of four parts, dealing respectively with the relations of Virginia with the Indians, the adjustments of the credit and paper cur-

rency, the Parson's Cause, and the Stamp Act, and into all of these parts the texts of long documents are copiously interwoven. Now the first and third of the episodes named may with substantial accuracy be said not to figure at all in the journals of the Burgesses. The question whether it is needful to accompany the journals with a history of Virginia embracing transactions in which the Burgesses had no share is also presented by Mr. McIlwaine's volume, but in a less degree and in a different form. He pursues the better plan of confining the introduction to an expository text, most of which bears more closely on the Burgesses's proceedings. He relegates his documents to an appendix, a procedure making for clearness. But his documents, illustrating general Virginia history from 1758 to 1761, are, with one exception, derived from but two sources, the Draper manuscripts and the Bancroft transcripts. Though neither of these collections is wholly casual, neither approaches completeness. Scores of documents from the Public Record Office and elsewhere have as good a title to be introduced here as these. In truth, it is but a conventional view among American editors, that the records of a public body should be accompanied by some interesting contemporary documents. They should be accompanied by all such as strictly and closely illustrate the transactions of that public body. Such as do not should be left out; order and system require that they be combined with all others of their respective classes in series of mutually related documents, homogeneous and of obvious plan.

The Legislature of the Province of Virginia: Its Internal Development, by Elmer I. Miller, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, XXVIII. 2.] (New York, Macmillan, 1907, pp. 182.) A methodical and useful study, though the author makes dull reading of the development of our chief colonial legislature, whose history might easily be made interesting. He seems not always to appreciate the immense difference in probative value between his official materials—Hening and the journals—and such books as Foote's *Sketches* and Howe's *Historical Collections*.

The True Patrick Henry. By George Morgan. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1907, pp. xi, 492.) Whoever looks under the head of *The True Patrick Henry* for a biography of detraction will be sadly disappointed. Mr. Morgan's book is written with all the warmth and glow that once gave Washington that other-world and isolated position in history which produced the reaction of a few years ago. But I hasten to say the author of the book in hand has not dealt merely in unsupported applause. His sources are the most reliable and they are used with discrimination. Not only so, Mr. Morgan has travelled Virginia as the "true" biographer ought to do; he has interviewed people who remember stories of the "First Virginia Governor"; he has been

in many houses in which Henry lived; he has read out-of-the-way newspaper files which contain pictures of the great orator. Sources both documentary and formal as well as unexpected and local have been diligently studied, though, possibly, with a too friendly eye for some of the colder historians of these critical times.

When it comes to the great epochs in Henry's life there is little room for complaint: the Stamp Act controversy is well and fairly treated; the conflict with Edmund Pendleton which resulted in the humiliation of Henry, the would-be commander of an army, is told with no bias toward the former; and the last and greatest conflict of this stormy career, the fight against the adoption of the National Constitution is presented with such allowance and apology as would have angered the great orator had it been made for him during his life-time. Perhaps Mr. Morgan overestimates Henry's influence in 1765, though he certainly does not underestimate his power over Virginia in 1788.

One omission it seems to the reviewer has been made: the sectional conflict in Virginia which paralleled and followed the Stamp Act controversy. Virginia was rent in twain by the struggle between Henry, Bland, and Richard Henry Lee on the one side, and the friends of Speaker Robinson on the other, over the investigation which showed the wide-spread corruption of the day. The lower counties as a rule sided with Robinson and the old régime, while the upper counties and more democratic populations supported Henry and his friends. Henry was the man who, with Richard Henry Lee, put the knife to the cankered sore, like Hughes in New York a year or two ago. In this he was laying the foundation for a radical reformer's career which must lead to other and greater things. The sources for this phase of Henry's life are not numerous; perhaps the recent publications of the Virginia State Library are the best we can expect. These Mr. Morgan has used to advantage but, as the reviewer believes, without recognizing their significance as to this particular episode.

However, these remarks must not be taken as disparagement of the book. *The True Patrick Henry* deserves high praise; it is likely to be widely read both for the facts it presents in strong relief and the fluent, somewhat Carlylian style of the author.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Edited from the Original Records in the Library of Congress by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Volume IX. 1777, October 3-December 31. (Washington, Government Printing Office, pp. 761-1132.) The most important subject dealt with by Congress in this period was that of the Articles of Confederation, completed and adopted November 15. Mr. Ford illustrates the process through which they took shape by presenting in parallel columns the latest drafts and by giving a frontispiece of six photographic plates showing a printed draft with manuscript amendments.

Another matter of much importance was the creation on October 17 and enlargement on November 24 of a Board of War not composed of members of Congress. Next most important, perhaps, were the dealings with the Saratoga Convention, on which there is a long report of December 27, suppressed in the journals as originally printed. Some pages are occupied with the arrangements made with the French officers whom Deane without authority sent over. Appointments, investigations of the conduct of individuals, commissary arrangements, emissions of bills of credit, accounts and payments, occupy as in previous volumes much space. The editor illustrates all with pertinent, learned and restrained notes, and concludes the volume with a list of members of standing committees, a bibliography of the publications of Congress during the year 1777, and an index of forty-two pages for that year, that is, an index to volumes VII., VIII. and IX.

John Paul Jones; Commemoration at Annapolis, April 24, 1906. Compiled under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing by Charles W. Stewart, Superintendent, Library and Naval War Records. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907, pp. 210.) This interesting and well-printed book is a valuable contribution to John Paul Jones literature. It is a fitting tribute to the memory of the great admiral. It records in documentary form those events which began with the search for his body at Paris and ended with the commemorative exercises at Annapolis on April 24, 1906. Part I. of the book contains the speeches of introduction of Secretary Bonaparte, the prayer of Chaplain Clark and the addresses of President Roosevelt, Ambassador Jusserand, General Porter and Governor Warfield, delivered at Annapolis. These are followed by a series of papers relating to the discovery and identification of the body and to its removal to the United States. The report of General Porter, which is accompanied with plans of the cemetery of Saint Louis, is especially interesting. The eleven important letters contained in the third section of the book relate to more ancient history. They are mostly written by or to Jones. Several of them are now printed for the first time, and several others for the first time in complete form. Part IV. consists of an extensive chronology setting forth all the leading events of the life of Jones. In the appendix are some additional documents of recent date. The book contains many excellent illustrations—portraits of Jones, a picture of his sword, facsimiles of documents, etc.

French Colonists and Exiles in the United States. By J. G. Rosengarten. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1907, pp. 234.) The writer states that he made "notes from the recognized historians and from such local publications as could best seem to supply information upon the subject". The book, then, is a collection of notes from which a narrative might have been constructed, but was not. No

effort has been made to harmonize the various accounts of the several attempts at French colonization and settlement within what are the present limits of the United States. Thus in this small volume appear seven different statements of the settlement at Gallipolis, drawn from Volney, Collot, Monette, Roosevelt, McMaster and others. By the same methods of note-taking, Rigau sometimes appears as Rigaud, and Champs d'Asile becomes Champs d'Azile, according to the source from which the note is drawn. Aaron Burr, even, is disguised as "Colonel Behr", following an absurd misprint in Hyde de Neuville's *Memoirs*.

The volume is, therefore, not much more than an ill-assorted note-book, from which it would be difficult to obtain an adequate idea of either the general outline of French colonization and emigration to the United States, or of the separate incidents of the main narrative. One merit the book has: the writer has been careful to mention the works which he has consulted. Thus it becomes a convenient, although by no means exhaustive or accurate, guide to the literature of the subject.

JESSE S. REEVES.

In Olde New York. By Charles Burr Todd. [The Grafton Historical Series, edited by Henry R. Stiles, A.M., M.D.] (New York, The Grafton Press, 1907, pp. ix, 253.) This volume belongs to the "Grafton Historical Series", of which several numbers have already been published. The series deals with local history, and the author of this work has already written of old Connecticut and old Massachusetts. Mr. Todd is an antiquarian, an historical writer whose researches have covered various fields of local interest. His volume on New York appeared originally in periodical form some twenty years ago, and has the merits and shortcomings natural to a composition of that date. Starting with Manhattan, Mr. Todd conducts us into different nooks and corners, old book-stores and historic shops, cemeteries and the Jumel Mansion. Then, following up the Hudson through Tarrytown, he gives at some length the story of the German Palatine settlement and enlarges upon various interesting occurrences in the Mohawk Valley. Returning to Long Island, he provides some curious information relating to shipping, wrecks, local customs and the history of that region.

The volume lacks references excepting as Mr. Todd has made use of a number of inscriptions. Parts of the book have the value of material gathered at first hand. As a study of the state of New York the work has many omissions, and the lasting interest will probably be found to be in those portions dealing with Long Island and New York City.

A few doubtful statements have been noted, but no serious mistakes. The book is illustrated and provided with an index. It cannot supersede or compete with definite historical treatises on the state, but it offers interesting sketches and will prove of use for certain phases of old New York life.

EDMUND K. ALDEN.

Old Steamboat Days on the Hudson River. By David Lear Buckman. [The Grafton Historical Series, edited by Henry R. Stiles, A.M., M.D.] (New York, The Grafton Press, 1907, pp. ix, 143.) This is a short book called forth by a double anniversary, the centennial of the Fulton steamboat and the three hundredth anniversary of Hudson's great discovery. The author has had the benefit of a long experience with the places which he describes, and his family has enjoyed unusual advantages through personal acquaintance with many of the river captains. There is no pretense at fine writing and the style is not above criticism. On account of the lack of references the work can hardly be classed among scholarly books. Some parts are written too much in the vein of a literal "catalogue of the ships". After describing Fulton and his great invention, the author passes on to the development of the river navigation. He recounts the gradual evolution from the primitive crafts of the early nineteenth century to the palatial steamers of the present. He gives miscellaneous data relating to the monopoly of traffic, to disasters of historic importance; he includes a few anecdotes, and concludes his text with a brief narrative of Hudson's voyage and the projected memorials. An appendix follows, containing such topics as early steamboat advertising and a list of prominent Hudson River steamboats, and the book is completed by an index. The illustrations are in keeping with the text.

A few mistakes occur. On page 8, the wife of Fulton is referred to as Harriett, and on page 13 as Harriet. Kosciusko could hardly have visited the United States in 1817 and again several years later (p. 23), as he died in the former year; his visit, in fact, was in 1797. On the same page, Jackson's military service was in 1813 and later, not in 1812. On page 38, it is written that Fitch had "died or left the state", a rather curious statement. Hudson entered New York Bay not August 3 (p. 114), but September 2.

This little volume furnishes pleasant reading and will prove a useful book of reference for particular phases of the local life of which it treats.

EDMUND K. ALDEN.

Lincoln in the Telegraph Office. By David Homer Bates. (New York, The Century Company, 1907, pp. viii, 432.) General interest in this book is likely to be aroused by the two introductory statements that "during the Civil War the President spent more of his waking hours in the War Department telegraph office than in any other place, except the White House", and that "outside the members of his cabinet and his private secretaries, none were brought into closer or more confidential relations with Lincoln than the cipher-operators." The writer has drawn not only upon his "war diary" and his own recollections, but also upon the recollections of his three fellow-operators, Tinker, Chandler and Eckert. It is disappointing to find, however, that much of this material has already found its way into print, in one form or another.

The amount of new information is inconsiderable. Many pages and some chapters have only a remote relation to Lincoln. Still, as one reads the simple, straight-forward narrative, one has an agreeable sense of learning much in a pleasant way about Lincoln, as men saw him day by day.

It is a pity that errors of fact should have crept into these entertaining pages. The author states that McClellan's failure to destroy the rebel army after Antietam was the immediate cause of Lincoln's sudden decision to lay the Emancipation Proclamation before his cabinet for the second time. As a matter of fact, Lincoln was persuaded to set aside the proclamation in July, until some military success had been achieved. On the testimony of Eckert, the author contends that the first draft of the Emancipation Proclamation was written in the cipher-room of the telegraph office. It should be noted, however, that this was not the draft which was laid before the Cabinet on September 22. Again, we are told apropos of the Blair mission in 1865, that "the patient Lincoln trusted his old political friend and believed in his wisdom and skill", giving him a safe conduct through the Union lines. Of this episode, Lincoln himself said, while the circumstances were still fresh in his mind: "If he [Blair] desired to go to Richmond of his own accord, I would give him a passport; but he had no authority to speak for me in any way whatever."

Those who find their patience somewhat tried by explanations of cipher-codes and messages, will do well to turn to the delightful account of Lincoln in the telegraph office, where he appears "in every-day humor". The picture of Lincoln reading aloud despatches in which the names of Davis and Lee recur, and always translating the names into "Jeffy D" and "Bobby Lee", is one likely to abide long in the memory.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

Grant, Lincoln and the Freedmen. By John Eaton, Ph.D., LL.D., in collaboration with Ethel Osgood Mason. (New York and London, Longmans, Green and Company, 1907, pp. xxxviii, 331.) General Eaton's memoirs are not a comprehensive autobiography. Although he was best known as Commissioner of Education, they deal only incidentally with educational matters. Fulfilling the promise of the title-page and the preface, they tell little of the author's life-story save where it meets those of Grant and Lincoln and the affairs of the negro race. They relate primarily to incidents in connection with which Eaton came into personal contact with these two men, to the character and standards of each as he saw them, and to the work of the Union army on behalf of the negro, especially in the Mississippi valley where Eaton served as superintendent of freedmen under Grant and the War Department before the Freedmen's Bureau was established.

To the literature of this phase of negro history, General Eaton has made a valuable contribution. Out of his full knowledge and from his

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viewpoint, we have an account of Western military work for freedmen, fuller than any other outside of official reports, thoroughly interesting and shedding some new light upon Grant's attitude and efforts and upon the genesis and organization of the Freedmen's Bureau.

Lincoln figures prominently in only three or four of the twenty chapters. These few are filled largely with incidents, impressions and anecdotes of personal interviews at the White House. Here and there throughout the volume are glimpses of other men. But with Grant the memoirs deal at length. For many years Eaton was close to the great general in sympathy and confidence; he was, for example, Lincoln's messenger to sound Grant on the question of the presidency in 1864, and was one of President Grant's unofficial advisers; naturally Eaton writes sympathetically, defending him against the traditional charges, emphasizing his great qualities and the "positive results" of his administrations and aiming "to focus his presidential record in the light of his character as manifested throughout his career".

The memoirs are well-planned, well-written and interesting throughout. By way of introduction and setting, Miss Mason, who has shared in their preparation, adds an admirable biographical sketch and appreciation of the author.

Without attempting detailed criticism of the volume, one point may be noted: Grant's famous Des Moines speech is reprinted (pp. 270-271) from the oft-copied, generally-accepted text, one paragraph of which Professor L. F. Parker long since showed to be so distorted as to misrepresent entirely Grant's attitude toward state and federal aid to *higher* education (see U. S. Bureau of Education, *Circular of Information*, no. 6, pp. 105-109).

PAUL S. PEIRCE.

Samuel Freeman Miller. By Charles Noble Gregory, A.M., LL.D. [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, Iowa, State Historical Society, 1907, pp. xv, 217.) Dr. Gregory has added another volume to the bibliography of the Supreme Court of the United States by writing for the State Historical Society's series of lives of eminent men of Iowa, a biography of Samuel Freeman Miller, who, from 1862 to 1890, was an associate justice of that court and one who firmly impressed his personality upon it.

It is but a brief sketch of only sixty-five pages, but the author has given us a bird's-eye view of the events and epochs of the life of this man, who, starting as a medical practitioner in a small town in Kentucky, finally became senior justice of the highest court in the land.

Justice Miller's service covered the *post-bellum* and reconstruction period of our governmental history, and there were many important and far-reaching decisions in which he took part and delivered the opinion of the court. Several of the most important Dr. Gregory has outlined in a masterful manner, enabling the reader to appreciate the particular point involved and the individual views of the justice. This is supple-

mented by an appendix containing a complete calendar of every opinion, nearly 800 in all, including about 160 dissents, which Justice Miller delivered during his term of twenty-eight years. Of the total, nearly 150 relate to constitutional law, but of these only eleven were dissents, and this shows that, as a general rule, on this branch of the law he had the court with him. This valuable feature of the volume enables the student of our constitution to trace the development of the mind of one of the clearest expounders of that instrument.

Among these cases we note *Crandall v. State of Nevada*, 6 Wallace, 35, denying the right of a state to tax outgoing passengers and placing the decision on the sovereign power of the federal government, not to be interfered with, to call to its service at its capital any or all of its citizens at any time; the dissenting opinion in *Hepburn v. Griswold*, 8 Wallace, 603, the first legal tender case, and which foreshadowed the ultimate opinion of the court, 12 Wallace, 457, sustaining the validity of the legislation; the *Slaughterhouse Case*, 16 Wallace, 36, in which many think he went too far in upholding the power of the state; *United States v. Lee*, 106 U. S., 196; the "Arlington case", in which he declared that "no man in this country is so high that he is above the law and no officer of the law may set that law at defiance with impunity."

Three addresses delivered by the justice are also included as appendices. The first, at the centennial of the Constitution; the others at commencement exercises, one on the use and value of authorities in the argument and decision of cases, an able paper that can be read with profit alike by law student and active practitioner, and the other on the conflict in this country between socialism and organized society. Dr. Gregory has rendered the profession a service in preserving these addresses, which are admirable in style and matter.

In the closing chapter, aptly styled a characterization, the author depicts the human—we might also say the humane—side of his subject's character and shows that beneath the stern, rugged and somewhat harsh exterior there was a deep and affectionate nature that, as Chief Justice Fuller said, "so endeared him to his friends and associates that he left a memory dear and precious to his country, even more enduring than the books in which his judgments are recorded".

CHARLES HENRY BUTLER.

The *Annual Reports* of the Archaeological Institute of America for the year 1906-1907, contained in the supplement to the eleventh volume of the *American Journal of Archaeology* (Macmillan), second series, reveal a growth in the activities of the institute in spite of its small endowments for whose increase the directors of the Schools at Athens, Rome and Jerusalem make a strong plea. The enrollment of students at the School at Athens has been equalled only once before, and there were more students at the School at Jerusalem than in any previous year. Professor Edgar L. Hewett, who was appointed at the beginning

of last year to the new position of director of American Archaeology, presents in a report of unusual interest an account of several fruitful expeditions to the "Mound Region" in central Missouri, the "Pueblo Region" in southeastern Utah, the McElmo drainage on the Colorado-Utah line, the Mesa Verde National Park in Colorado and the ruins of Puye in the northern part of Pajarito Park, New Mexico. The field operations in these localities received support from the local archaeological societies, and students from several universities participated in them. Much preliminary work of archaeological and physiographic description was accomplished, type ruins were excavated and large numbers of articles representing the industries and arts of the former inhabitants were found. A result of the excavations at Puye was "the discovery of objects tending to establish definite relationship between the ancient pueblos of the Rio Grande Valley and the ancient inhabitants of northern Mexico". The more effective organization of this work in the form of a school of American archaeology, to be situated in the Southwest, is proposed.

Mattapoisett and Old Rochester, Massachusetts. Prepared under the direction of a Committee of the Town of Mattapoisett. [The Grafton Historical Series, edited by Henry R. Stiles, A.M., M.D.] (New York, The Grafton Press, 1907, pp. xii, 424.) This is an interesting history of an old New England town, based in large part on the town, church and parish records, diaries and memoirs. Local histories written from such sources are welcome, especially if, as in the present case, genealogy is made subordinate to more important discussions of local institutions. Massachusetts is a leader in publications of this character, an example by which other states should profit. It is to such detailed studies of small local divisions that historians must turn for material which will give a true picture of the life of the people. A little less than half of the book, consisting of the first eight chapters, deals with the history of the town in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was written by Mary Hall Leonard. Chapter VI., on the life of the people in the eighteenth century, is particularly good. Road-making, fisheries, industries, education and church life are some of the topics discussed. Chapter VIII. presents a study, in great detail, of the church in the second precinct. Chapter XI., on maritime and other industries, gives an interesting account of shipbuilding—for the most part the building of whaling ships—in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There is one original document of interest, a list (pp. 363-366) of maximum prices, established by the selectmen and committee of the town of Rochester (1777), pursuant to the Massachusetts statute entitled, "An Act to Prevent Monopolies and Oppression". The list, which is taken from the town records, gives maximum prices for vegetables, grains, cloth, wood, meats, hardware, wages in various trades, agricultural implements and many other articles. The book is well printed

and illustrated. It would have been more satisfactory if the author had supplied references, in foot-notes, to original authorities, though in some cases the information is given in the body of the text.

M. W. JERNEGAN.

Encyclopedia of Mississippi History. In two volumes. Planned and edited by Dunbar Rowland, LL.D., Director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. (Madison, Wis., Selwyn A. Brant, 1907, pp. xvi, 1010; 1024.) This is a large two-volume work of more than two thousand pages containing historical sketches of the important events and episodes in the life of the commonwealth, of all the counties, cities and towns of the state including towns and villages now extinct, biographical sketches of men "who have left their impress on the history of the state" and sketches of various institutions, educational, religious and industrial, including many quasi-public or private organizations such as bar, press and teachers' associations, fraternal orders, etc.

The design of the work, to use the language of the author, is to present in compact form, arranged in alphabetical order, a complete history of Mississippi from 1540 to 1906, the plan being to combine the best features of history for continuous reading with the cyclopedic style for ready reference. Much of the biographical and statistical material contained in Mr. Rowland's encyclopedia may be found in Goodspeed's *Memoirs*, a bulky compilation prepared primarily for commercial reasons and published some years ago by a Chicago house, but it is only just to him to say that his own work is very differently arranged, contains much new material and is prepared with much greater regard to the canons of historical writing. The first chapter and possibly the only one that will prove of particular value to the historical investigator deals with the "selected sources" of Mississippi history. These sources are arranged under three main heads; those of France, those of Great Britain and those of Spain, each in turn being subdivided for purposes of treatment into printed and manuscript sources. It may be proper to state that much of this source-material was discovered by Mr. Rowland in the archives of England, France and Spain, and that it is now being transcribed under his direction for the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

The encyclopedia has the inherent faults of a work prepared according to the topical plan. There is the inevitable duplication, repetition and lack of continuity which gives history its distinguishing characteristic. Some of the titles relate only remotely if at all to the history of the state. We note among them the following: alligators, anthrax, advent of the flag, clay and brick, dueling, Jay treaty, ordinance of 1787, etc. Many others receive little more treatment than bare mention. Nevertheless the work shows evidence of great industry and of intimate knowledge of the state's history. There are many very good sketches and com-

pilations which have more than a local interest. Among them may be noted the articles on Banking, Biloxi, Black Code, Boundaries, British Land Claims, Cotton, Indians, Militia, Slavery, Spanish Domains and Wars. The administrations of the governors, provincial, territorial and state, are well summarized. Some of the biographical sketches and the history of a number of the older towns like Natchez and Vicksburg are quite satisfactory, and embody the results of Mr. Rowland's recent discoveries.

J. W. GARNER.

We cannot be too thankful for the copious index to the *Early Western Travels*, which Mr. Thwaites has so carefully and attentively edited. There is no scrimping on the index, which bears all the appearance of critical work. It occupies volumes XXXI. and XXXII. of the series and, one need hardly say, adds immensely to the usefulness of the set. Take for example such a heading as Negroes; here we find some 650 entries covering such topics as runaway, punishments, immorality, prices, sale, revolts. The references to Missions, Education, Lands and scores of similar topics open up the treasures of the preceding thirty volumes. For the first time we have in a form adapted to easy use a great mass of material that will enable the investigator in a small college, which has not many books, to study from the sources the main facts of Western social and economic history—at least to see for himself the main conditions as described by travellers in a period of a hundred years. In fact these thirty volumes and this ample index open up to all of us opportunities for knowing the West and the processes of American settlement as many of us could not have known them before.

Heralds of American Literature. By Annie Russell Marble, M.A. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1907, pp. vii, 383.) The subject of this book—the literature of America between the time of the Revolution and the early nineteenth century—is obviously unimportant. With few exceptions it has already been adequately—one may even say finally—treated in the works of Professor Moses Coit Tyler. Mrs. Marble has evidently devoted to the matter punctilious attention. The result of her labors, however, displays neither the extent of learning—except in matters of somewhat gossipy detail—the grasp of her subject, nor the command of style needful to justify three hundred pages and more about matter of which scholars as well as general readers may contentedly remain ignorant.

The Philippines under Spanish and American Rules, by C. H. Forbes-Lindsay (Philadelphia, John C. Winston Company, 1907, pp. 566), is the issue under separate title of the second part of a very handsomely printed two-volume work by the same author on *America's Insular Possessions*. Like the other portions of this volume, the chapters on Philippine history and administration and commerce under

Spain do not represent any independent research, but are compiled from various sources, especially the Philippine census of 1903. They are accordingly accurate or inaccurate with Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, the census contributor under these heads. American official publications have been so blindly followed in other parts of the work that it is curious to note that the account of the events of 1898 was drawn from the Englishmen Sawyer and Foreman, and therefore repeats such assertions as that the Filipinos were given a promise of independence.

Internal Taxation in the Philippines, by John S. Hord (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXV., no. 1, 1907, pp. 45), is not the careful monograph one would expect from the auspices under which it is published and the fact that its author is collector of internal revenue in the Philippines and the chief designer of the internal revenue law of 1904. His aim in preparing this paper was chiefly to present an argument for the removal of customs tariffs on Philippine products entering the United States, and his explanation and defense of the new internal revenue system in the islands suffers subordination in consequence. So much for its bearing on current history in the Philippines. As for the review and summary, in section 1. of the pamphlet, of internal taxation under Spanish rule, it is not only very incomplete, but is also inaccurate in many cases, the author's bibliography revealing his scanty study of the subject.

Mexico and Her People of Today, by Nevin O. Winter (Boston, L. C. Page and Company, 1907, pp. vii, 405), though an attractive and on the whole very satisfactory treatise on Mexico, is poorest in its historical sections, chapters XVIII. to XX., and other passages scattered throughout the work. The author's reading has brought him no clear idea of what were the fundamental issues involved in the confused events of 1821 to 1867; so also, in his chapter on Religious Forces, no adequate conception is evinced of what the reform in Mexico really was, in its phases religious, ecclesiastical, economic, social and political. Among miscellaneous errors, one cannot help protesting against "Kit" Carson being killed at the Alamo (!).

The *Revista Historica Mexicana* is a magazine recently established in the City of Mexico, under the editorship of Mr. C. D. López, for some time librarian in the Museo Nacional. It is to be a monthly publication devoted primarily to the history of Mexico. The first two numbers, which appeared in October and November, contain articles by some of the leading Mexican students of history and antiquities, namely, Carlos Pereyra, professor of history in the Escuela Preparatoria, Dr. Edward Seler, a prominent authority on Mexican archaeology, Luis González Obregón, author of several books and papers on Mexican

history, and Dr. Antonio Peñafiel, a prolific writer on Mexican antiquities. Señor González Obregón writes of "Castes in New Spain in the Eighteenth Century"; Professor Pereyra of "The Text-book in History Classes"; Dr. Seler of "The Identity of Omacatl and Tezcatlipoca"; and Dr. Peñafiel of "The Precortesian Mixtec Codex Javier Córdova, and an Ancient Plan of San Andrés, Cholula". In addition to original articles, the *Revista* proposes to publish translations of notable articles in other languages relative to Mexico.

It is to be hoped that this magazine will succeed, for without it there is no publication in Mexico devoted exclusively to history and auxiliary subjects, although one is greatly needed to encourage the writing of critical monographic studies in Mexican history.

The Andes and the Amazon. Life and Travel in Peru. By C. Reginald Enock, F.R.G.S. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. xvi, 379.) Attractive in appearance, well-printed, with good illustrations, one is led to expect great things of this impressive volume.

Mr. Enock, whose portrait adorns the frontispiece, seems to be a rare combination of mining engineer, poet, prospector, artist, philosopher and Britisher. In his enthusiastic imagination the Cordillera "crouches, rears, and groans upon the western sea-board of the Continent. Kissing the cerulean space with snowy peaks, five miles above the level of the ocean's ebb and flow, and groaning over its dun and desert wastes below, with earthquake grumbles, the ponderous mass, from rock-ribbed base to filmy summit-edge, where matter ends, keeps its eternal vigil!" (p. 10).

After sixty-eight pages of this, the poet is generally suppressed in the interests of the geographer, and here Mr. Enock speaks with authority, for he claims "to have travelled more extensively in Peru as a whole than any other foreigner" (p. 226). In describing the Peru of to-day, Mr. Enock is at his best. His philosophy is not deep, but his statements are often interesting.

His discussion of the Monroe Doctrine contains the following helpful observation: "Unfortunately the business and administrative methods of the North Americans are not such as to warrant their yet taking up the position of mentor to any one; . . . one thing is certain—the closer their association with Great Britain, the sooner will their capacity for righteous administration be developed" (p. 364).

While one may not always agree with this British engineer, he is at times decidedly refreshing, as when he says: "The Spanish-American youth educated in the United States is not a happy product. London is the real home for the cosmopolitan refinement suited to their character" (p. 300).

There is little that throws any light on modern Peruvian history or politics.

Mr. Enock does a distinct service in criticizing the exaggerated

accounts of "Inca Roads". Instead of "magnificent military highways" they were really nothing but well-made foot-paths, "not calling for any particular comment" (p. 239).

Five chapters are devoted to the Incas, and contain a number of extracts translated from "the writings of Eusebio Zapata . . . written in 1761". Mr. Enock adds: "I do not think any writings have appeared in English from this source, or indeed in Spanish" (p. 212), but it would have been more useful had he stated that the "interesting volume" from which he translates so many paragraphs was published in Lima in 1904 under the title, *Memorias Histórico-Físicas-Apológicas de la América Meridional* by José Eusebio de Llano y Zapata.

HIRAM BINGHAM.

TEXT-BOOKS

A Student's History of Greece. By J. B. BURY, M.A., Hon. Litt.D., Hon. LL.D. Edited and prepared for American High Schools and Academies by EVERETT KIMBALL, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, Smith College. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xviii, 377.)

BURY-KIMBALL'S *Students' History of Greece* contains approximately two thirds of Bury's *History of Greece for Beginners*, which, in turn, contains about one third of Bury's *History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great*. That is to say, we have an American adaptation of an abridgment, made for English schools, of the most satisfactory work in our language on the period it covers. The abridgment was very skilfully executed, and the adaptation is also meritorious.

The present book does not give the usual insipid résumé of Hellenistic history: it ignores the existence of this period altogether. Instead of the court intrigues and frontier wars of the Roman Empire, no Roman Empire at all! But an adequate treatment of Imperial Greece would have made this book Kimball's, not Bury's.

This is a conspicuous defect, and it is only partially made good by conspicuous virtues. The book is a real history, not a poor encyclopaedia. The story is never smothered by classifications of motives and results, scraps of literary and art history, tid-bits of philosophy and hackneyed generalizations, as is the case with some of its competitors. It is unexcelled for unity of conception, vigor of style and general interest.

W. S. FERGUSON.

A Short History of Rome. By FRANK FROST ABBOTT, Professor in the University of Chicago. (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company. 1907. Pp. 304.)

THIS work has two parts, a text-book for pupils, and a handbook for teachers and advanced students. To the latter most of the pedagogical

apparatus has been relegated, and had all reflections and explanations been incorporated in it still more room would have been left for vivid narrative. The teacher can supply the analysis, but he is seldom able to tell the story accurately and dramatically. The plot-interest should, therefore, be made prominent in the text-book—a wizard's task, when the events of a millenium and a half have to be compressed into two hundred and fifty pages. Professor Abbott's handbook is very much to be commended—may it prosper and grow larger!

The text-book has fifteen chapters, each introduced by a concise description and ended by an admirable summary. The whole text is subdivided into sections with appropriate headings, and is followed by a chronological list of important events, a brief bibliography and a good index. The book is well equipped with maps and illustrations, and, taken as a whole, is well planned and well written. The best chapters, despite a certain nervousness as to Augustus and his work, are those devoted to the principate; but they are too short, and do not give sufficient attention to municipal life.

Professor Abbott, as in his *Roman Political Institutions*, has accepted Mommsen's conception of the growth of the early Republic. This has no longer the endorsement of the leading historians. In fact, its main strength was taken from it by Mommsen himself, when he demonstrated clearly, what with Meyer, Niese, Neumann, Kornemann, Schwartz, De Sanctis, Beloch and others is now axiomatic, that Diodorus gives us by far the most, if not the only, reliable data on Roman history for the period prior to Pyrrhus. The pre-Gracchan annals, moreover, which, because of their brevity, Diodorus did not need to alter for use in his *Historical Library*, represent the prototype from which Livy and Dionysius depend indirectly; and the way in which these annals seem to have misinterpreted the *fasti* is incompatible with the existence in contemporary governmental circles of a genuine detailed tradition as to the rise of a constitution. Accordingly, the most that we can do is to insert into the framework of the *fasti*, with as little specific connective as possible, the disconnected items which Diodorus found in his sources, and this Edward Meyer has done with results that are fast becoming canonical. His conception, which owes little to the parts of Diodorus attacked successfully by Ettore Pais, deserves the adhesion of conservative scholars.

Professor Abbott narrates first external, then internal, events. This practice is commendable in dealing with the periods of the Italian and foreign conquests, but, when continued into the post-Gracchan era of the Republic it tears far apart things that belong closely together. The successive stages of the revolution were marked off in advance by external disasters; and the governmental crises should be described in each case directly after the *fiasco* in the conduct of foreign affairs. If this were done, the Spanish wars would not be mere episodes, and Caesar's conquests would not be narrated before the Gracchan reforms.

At the same time, the reader's attention could be fixed more firmly upon the demagogue and the victorious general, and the reason made clear why Augustus did not succeed in restoring a stable government on the old lines except through giving to the prince proconsular *imperium* and tribuniary *potestas*—powers fatal to republican initiative.

W. S. FERGUSON.

Outline for Review: Greek History and *Outline for Review: Roman History*. By Charles Bertram Newton and Edwin Bryant Treat, of the Lawrenceville School. (New York, American Book Company, pp. 51; 62.) These little books contain outlines of ancient history for use in review, and typical questions from college entrance examination papers. They are certain to be serviceable to both pupils and "coaches". In fact, every experienced teacher must use something of the sort. Those by Messrs. Newton and Treat are not to be especially recommended. They contain most of the false notions which have been discarded during the last twenty-five years, and many new ones in addition—such as the confusion of neolithic and paleolithic on the opening page of the Greek manual. They are, however, compiled with much skill and knowledge of conditions.

W. S. FERGUSON.

A Political History of Modern Europe from the Reformation to the Present Day. By FERDINAND SCHWILL, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Modern History in the University of Chicago. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1907. Pp. xiv, 607.)

THIS is a readable, readily assimilated and generally reliable textbook of Modern Europe history. It appears to be suitable for work in high-schools of high grade, for elementary college work and especially for the interested general reader who wants an introduction to the subject. In regard to the dividing line between medieval and modern history (so far as we can make one at all) and in regard to the proper subject-matter for history, the author adopts the views (with which the reviewer does not happen to be in accord) that "the one thousand years before 1500 are generally agreed to constitute the medieval period" (p. 6) and that "history is primarily concerned with politics" (p. 2). After an excellent preliminary survey of the modern nations and the church before the Reformation, which we venture to think the best part of the whole book, the general plan and allotment of space to the Reformation, the Absolute Monarchy, and Revolution and Democracy, is conventional but unusually clear and simple. English history is included and given in more detail than that of any other country. A final chapter on the Threshold of a New Century suggests the great inventions of our day and their effects, the problem of socialism and the international prevention of war, and the European advance into Africa and Asia.

The author has a sprightly, almost Gallic, vivacity; he often gives his reader the confidential and picturesque impression which usually goes only with the spoken word. At the same time, however—and this is the chief criticism of the book—there is too often a surplus of adjective, a deficiency of definite fact and an occasional looseness in the use of terms (e. g., *Bund*, pp. 418, 470) which we fear will leave an elusive haziness in the student's mind and make the book difficult to quiz upon. It is not true that the "Prussian and Austrian troops . . . entered the duchies [of Schleswig-Holstein] side by side" (p. 471), nor that Napoleon "persuaded the French legislature to declare war" in 1870 (p. 475). Murillo died in 1682 and not 1681 (p. 118), and Rembrandt in 1669 and not 1674 (p. 176). For Lasalle (p. 510) read *Lassalle* and for Rousillon (map p. 36), *Roussillon*. But let not this criticism obscure the far more important fact that here is a text-book which is interesting.

The eighteen maps, especially those in black and white, are simple, clear and well-adapted to their purpose. An excellent feature is the side-note on each map telling the student the principal things he ought to see. The map of Germany on the eve of the Reformation is an exception in being poorly done; Wittenberg and Leipzig find no place on it, and the Albertine line in Saxony is wrongly indicated as the electoral line; it was not electoral until Maurice's perfidy in 1547. In an appendix there are more than a dozen very helpful genealogical tables, a "\$25 list of books for a small library" and a brief general bibliography. This might have well included a few books in French—at least a mention of the new Lavissee or of the more convenient and very easy French articles in Lavissee and Rambaud. No one ought to be referred any longer to the sixth edition of Dahlmann-Waitz (p. vii) when the seventh edition which has been out two years is so much more complete.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Atlas of European History. By EARLE W. DOW. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1907. Pp. v, 46.)

IN his modest, dignified and scholarly preface the author states that he has "sought to meet the long felt need of a small atlas of European history which should be in the English language, which should treat of the different peoples of Europe impartially, which should not obscure general views by too many details, and which should have a serviceable key to its contents". He has succeeded; and for his effort he deserves the thanks of all teachers and students of European history. To what he has drawn from the best German, French and English atlases, he has added by original research.

The thirty-two double-page colored plates contain eighty-one maps, sometimes a single map occupying an entire plate, other times as many as five being placed on a single plate. On the reverse of the colored plates are twenty-two additional maps printed only in black and white.

Four plates containing thirteen maps illustrate the period before the Germanic invasion of the Roman Empire. Eleven plates containing forty-three maps belong to the period between the Germanic invasion and the end of the fifteenth century. The remaining seventeen plates containing forty-seven maps fall in the period since the beginning of the sixteenth century. No country or period is neglected and none are over-emphasized.

The maps contain not only the geographical information indispensable to a clear understanding of history; they contain also much more. By the insertion of dates on the face of the map, and by the skilful use of color schemes, of numbers and of other devices known to makers and students of historical maps, the author has succeeded in conveying a vast amount of historical information in a way that greatly aids the memory in retaining it.

While on the whole the work is to be highly commended, yet it is not entirely above adverse criticism. The author realizes this and invites such criticism in the hope of improving subsequent editions. In the otherwise excellent index there are some, though very few, errors; see, *e. g.*, Aland, where the plate number is omitted. A good many names of considerable historical importance are not included, *e. g.*, Camperdown, Klein-Schnellendorf, Leuthen, Ligny. It would seem that all places referred to in books so much used as the Oxford periods of European history might have been given. Convenience has been sacrificed in the effort to avoid too great detail. As a consequence one often has to turn to several plates in order to locate places associated in a single event or movement, as a campaign. The absence from nearly all maps of any device to indicate mountains is a defect. This could be partially remedied by a single good relief map. But perhaps all this is only saying that the author has not done what was impossible, and what he did not intend to do.

A desirable feature of such an atlas would be a series of maps illustrating the progress of geographical knowledge. The use of none but perfect maps in studying periods during which contemporary geographical knowledge was so imperfect, makes it all but impossible for students to appreciate the difficulties both imaginary and real that confronted the actors of the time and had such a large influence on the making of history.

W. R. MANNING.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne of Yale University died at New Haven on February 24, at the age of forty-seven and in the prime of his remarkable powers. Born in 1860, he was graduated from Yale in 1883, and received its degree of doctor of philosophy in 1892. From 1886 to 1888 he was an instructor in that university; from 1888 to 1890 he was an instructor, from 1890 to 1895 a professor of history, in Adelbert College, Western Reserve University. In 1895 he returned to Yale as professor of history. Into the work of teaching he carried extraordinary learning, both in European and in American history, and great though quietly expressed enthusiasm. No one in America surpassed him in the art of teaching historical criticism to graduate students. Indeed, this was always his chief interest. Wide as was the range of his reading, and various as were the subjects on which he wrote, the unifying trait was that delight in the processes of historical criticism which marked his singularly keen and active mind. It is not too much to say that he was the chief master in America of that specific portion of the historian's art, and that in this specialty the profession has suffered in his death an irreparable loss. This quality of his mind was exhibited in varied ways in his volume of *Essays in Historical Criticism*, published in 1901. He also published in 1885 a *History of the Surplus Revenue of 1837*, in 1904 a valuable volume on *Spain in America*. He furnished an introductory survey of Philippine history to the series called *The Philippine Islands*, edited the *Voyages of Champlain*, and edited most of the first volume, devoted to Columbus, of the series called *Original Narratives of Early American History*. To this journal he was always one of the most valued contributors, and it profited greatly by his critical skill; in the general index to our first ten volumes the entry under his name occupies more space than that under the name of any other writer. Mr. Bourne was moreover of so kindly and genial a character, so open and helpful in spirit, so free from vanity and self-seeking, so cheerful and happy in disposition, despite much suffering, that his premature death will be widely felt as a source of personal sorrow.

Major-General Albert von Pfister, of Württemberg, the author of several historical works largely on military history, died on October 19 at the age of sixty-seven. His two-volume book, *Die Amerikanische Revolution, 1775-1783* (1904) lays stress upon the influence of the Germans upon America and the American Revolution.

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Professor Gustav Hertzberg of Halle, the author of numerous valuable works on ancient history, among which are *Die Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer* (two volumes, 1866-1875) and *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Absterben des Antiken Lebens bis zur Gegenwart* (four volumes, 1876-1879), died on November 16, aged eighty-one.

Alessandro Gherardi, director of the state archives at Florence, died on January 8, aged sixty-four. Among his very numerous publications are the *Diario d'Anonimo Fiorentino*, an account of the popular uprising of the fourteenth century, and two volumes, *Le Consulte della Repubblica Fiorentina dal 1279 al 1298*. He had recently been examining the papers of the Guicciardini family with a view to a new edition of the *Storia d'Italia*, of which a considerable part is in the press.

Professor Edwin Erle Sparks of the University of Chicago has been elected to the presidency of Pennsylvania State College.

Professor Max Farrand of the Leland Stanford University has accepted an appointment as professor of history in Yale University, and will begin instruction there next autumn. Professor Wilbur C. Abbott has accepted appointment as professor of history in the Sheffield Scientific School.

Messrs. William R. Shepherd and James T. Shotwell have been raised to the rank of professor in Columbia University, James W. Thompson to that of associate professor in the University of Chicago.

Professor William Scott Ferguson of the University of California has been elected assistant professor of history in Harvard University.

A volume on *Frederic William Maitland*, two lectures and a bibliography by Mr. A. L. Smith of Balliol College, has been recently issued by the Oxford University Press.

The second volume of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1905* has, as mentioned elsewhere, already appeared. The Annual Report for 1906 is already in type. Volume one contains the usual report of the proceedings of the Providence meeting, four other reports, chiefly of conferences which took place on that occasion, seven of the papers read at the meeting, and Miss Annie H. Abel's Winsor Prize Essay, "The History of Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi". The whole of volume two is devoted to the report of the Public Archives Commission, which presents a summary of the present state of legislation of states and territories relative to the custody and supervision of public records, prepared by the late Robert T. Swan; inventories of the archives of Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Ohio, Tennessee, and three minor localities; and a bibliography of the public archives of the thirteen original states, extending to 1789, and prepared by Miss Adelaide R. Hasse.

The third International Congress for the History of Religions will be held at Oxford from September 15 to 18 inclusive. Besides general meetings, there will be meetings of sections which will deal with the following peoples and their religions: I. The Lower Culture (including Mexico and Peru); II. The Chinese and Japanese; III. The Egyptians; IV. The Semites; V. India and Iran; VI. Greeks and Romans; VII. Germans, Celts, and Slavs; VIII. Christianity. The local secretaries are Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter, 109 Banbury Road, Oxford, and Dr. L. R. Farnell, 191 Woodstock Road, Oxford.

The Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland held its sixth annual convention at Baltimore on March 13 and 14. The principal address was by the British ambassador, Mr. James Bryce. The principal topics of discussion were: Possible Modifications of the Secondary School Courses in Ancient, Medieval and Modern History, and the Correlation of History and Geography.

The next annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society will be held in New York on May 3. A proposal to enlarge the scope of the society, so as to embrace general Jewish history, and not merely American Jewish history, will be acted upon by the society at this meeting.

A report of the German Historikertag, held in Dresden last September, appears in the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* (Nachrichten und Notizen, II.) for February. Of special interest to many will be the account of Professor Karl Lamprecht's lecture on *Die Ausgestaltung der Universalgeschichtlichen Studien im Hochschulunterricht* and of the discussion that it aroused. A letter from Professor Lamprecht, describing the opportunities afforded for the study of American culture and universal history in the historical seminaries of the University of Leipzig, is printed in the *Nation* of December 19.

The latest fascicle of the *Bibliographie Annuelle des Travaux Historiques et Archéologiques* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, pp. 289) published by the learned societies of France and edited by Count Robert de Lasteyrie and M. Alexandre Vidier as a supplement to their *Bibliographie Générale*, covers the years 1903 to 1907.

The Council of the Navy Records Society proposes to issue every June, as an appendix to their annual report to the society, a list of the books and articles of naval interest that have appeared during the preceding twelve months; and, in the first instance, since January 1, 1907.

The *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for January, 1908, contains an extensive list of works relating to the history of music.

The Library of Congress expects to issue during the summer, in a book of probably more than fourteen hundred pages, *A List of Atlases in the Division of Maps and Charts in the Library of Congress*, edited

by the chief of that division, Mr. P. Lee Phillips. The titles will be accompanied with full historical notes in which an especial effort will be made to bring out the American material contained in those atlases which have historical value.

Miss Semple's paper on Geographical Location as a Factor in History, mentioned on page 435, *ante*, has since been printed in the *Bulletin* of the American Geographical Society for February, 1908.

The first number of *The Sociological Review* (London, Sherratt and Hughes, pp. 104), a quarterly which will take the place of the annual volume of proceedings of the Sociological Society, includes papers by Mr. R. R. Marett on Comparative Religion and by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher on the Sociological View of History. Professor L. T. Hobhouse is chairman of the editorial committee. The first number of the monthly *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques* (Paris, Paul Geuthner), edited by M. Arnold van Gennep, opens with an article by Mr. J. G. Frazer on St. George and the Parilla; the second number has an article by Mr. Andrew Lang on exogamy. A new quarterly, also published by P. Geuthner, is the *Revue d'Histoire des Doctrines Économiques et Sociales*, edited by Professors A. Deschamps, A. Dubois and E. Depître, and intended to include not only articles on the history of economic theory but also those treating of the history of economic, political, or juridical institutions in relation to economic opinion.

A *Systematical List of the Principal Continental Law-Literature* published during 1907 has been issued by the publisher M. Nijhoff, the Hague.

M. F. Mourret, professor of history in the higher school of Catholic Theology at Paris, has in preparation an eight-volume *Histoire Générale de l'Église*, which will bridge the gap between the great histories of Rohrbacher and of Darras and the school manuals. While the external history will be narrated, especial stress will be laid upon the inner life and social action of the Church, and upon the development of dogmas and juridical institutions. The third volume, *L'Église et le Monde Barbare* (Paris, R. Roger, F. Chernoviz) is the first to be published and will be followed by the fifth volume, *La Renaissance et la Réforme*.

Abbé L. Duchesne's *The Churches separated from Rome* (New York, Benziger, pp. ix, 224) has been translated by Arnold Harris Mathew and published in the International Catholic Library. The work treats of the church of England; the Eastern schisms; the encyclical of the patriarch Anthimius; the Roman church before the time of Constantine; the Greek church and the Greek schism; ecclesiastical Illyria; and the Christian missions south of the Roman Empire.

A collection of data for the study of the origin and development of the leading religions of the Orient has been issued by Professor A.

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Bertholet of the University of Basel and four coadjutors under the title *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* (Tübingen, Mohr).

E. Driault, whose work *La Question d'Orient* was crowned by the Institute, has issued through Alcan a volume on *La Question d'Extrême Orient*.

The second volume of F. von Wenckstern's excellent *Bibliography of the Japanese Empire* (London, Quaritch, pp. xvi, 535) comprises the literature in European languages from 1894 to 1906, Miss V. Palmgren's list of the Swedish literature on Japan and Léon Pagès's *Bibliographie Japonaise*.

M. Papinot is preparing an English edition of his *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie du Japon*, reviewed in our October number (XIII. 151).

Die Kultur Japans (Berlin, Curtius) by Dr. Daiji Itchikawa, lecturer in the Japanese department of the Oriental seminary in Berlin, treats mainly of the history and the present character of civilization in Japan.

Mr. Ellsworth Huntington's volume, *The Pulse of Asia* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin), which is based on observations in the deserts of Chinese Turkestan, is a study of "the geographic relation between physical environment and man, and between changes of climate and history".

The *Alumni Register* of the University of Pennsylvania contains in its November number an interesting and well-written address by Professor E. P. Cheyney, entitled "What is History?"

Mr. G. L. Gomme is publishing in the series of "Antiquary's Books" (Methuen), a volume on *Folk-Lore as an Historical Science*.

Professor C. H. Firth is writing the introduction to a translation of Dr. Oskar Jäger's *Geschichtsunterricht* which Mr. Blackwell of Oxford is publishing.

The Cambridge University Press will publish a volume by Professor Foster Watson on *School-Books and Curricula, chiefly of English Schools*, containing material illustrative of the period from 1500 to 1650. Another work by the same author on the *Theory and Practice of Education in the Eighteenth Century* will appear in the Cambridge series of "Contributions to the History of Education in Medieval and Modern Europe".

Professor N. M. Trenholme of the University of Missouri has prepared, and Ginn and Company have published, *A Syllabus for the History of Western Europe*, based on Robinson's *Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, and designed as an aid in the use of Professor Robinson's text, together with his *Readings in European History*. The *Syllabus* is in two parts, "The Middle Ages", and "The Modern Age", bound separately (pp. 80 and 94), each part being designed for

a half year's work. Copious references for collateral readings accompany each chapter, and review questions appear at intervals throughout the work. Desiring to emphasize the element of causation and connection, the author has given to the topical analyses as large a measure of fullness and clearness as the character of such a syllabus will permit.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Historical Sources: Their Nature and Uses* (Athenaeum, December 28); James Bryce, *The Influence of National Character and Historical Environment on the Development of the Common Law* (The Law Quarterly Review, January).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Professor F. Hirth of Columbia University has published a volume on *The Ancient History of China to the End of the Ch'ou Dynasty* (Columbia University Press, 1908, pp. xx, 383) which begins with a chapter on the mythological and legendary period and comes down to the third century B. C. An appendix of chronological tables gives the dates of the princes of the various states.

The well-known Egyptologists, Messrs. L. W. King and H. R. Hall, have published an abundantly illustrated account of *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1907, pp. 480).

Prolégomènes à l'Étude de la Religion Égyptienne (Paris, Leroux), an essay on Egyptian mythology by E. Amelineau, director of studies at the école des Hautes Études, forms the twenty-first volume in the series of the religious sciences, in the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.

In 1906, M. F. Thureau-Dangin published a French translation of all the known historical inscriptions belonging to the Sumerian period or written in Sumerian. That translation has been revised and a German version, together with a transliteration of the texts, published under the title *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, pp. 275).

In a previous number of this journal (XII. 705) we noticed the remarkable discoveries made by Professor Hugo Winckler in 1906 at Boghaz-Köi, the ancient centre of the Hittite kingdom. Last summer Professor Winckler made further discoveries there; a detailed description of these together with a general sketch of the results obtained for history from his study of the Hittite records is published by him in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. 35.

Georg Misch's *Geschichte der Autobiographie* (Leipzig, Teubner) should be of interest to both the historian and the psychologist. The first volume, published last year, is entitled *Das Altertum*, and treats of the development of this form of writing in Greece and Rome.

The first volume of the second part of E. Babelon's monumental *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines* is a *Description Historique* (Paris, Leroux, 1907, pp. iv, 1670) of all the series of Greek coins, including those of the Hellenic East and West, from the earliest times to the second Persian war, 479 B. C. An album of plates accompanies the volume. In this excellent and comprehensive work history and numismatics are studied in the closest relation.

Nearly half of the contents of the *Annual* of the British School at Athens for the session 1905-1906 (Macmillan) treats of the topography, architecture and antiquities of Sparta and Laconia. Mr. Traquair contributes a paper on the medieval fortresses and churches in Laconia. There are several articles on Crete, and some of a miscellaneous character, among which may be mentioned the notes from the Sporades by the director and Mr. Wace, Mr. Hasluck's reproduction of early maps of Crete and Constantinople and his list of MSS. in the British Museum relating to the geography of the Levant.

E. Ziebarth's *Kulturbilder aus Griechischen Städten* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1907, pp. 120), number 131 in the series *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*, gives a picture of life in ancient cities based in part upon the most recent discoveries. After a discussion of the nature of the ancient archives and their value, Thera, Pergamon, Priene, Miletus, the temple of Apollo at Didyma and the Greek cities in Egypt are described.

A paper entitled *Who were the Romans?* (pp. 44) read by W. Ridgeway before the British Academy, has been printed by Frowde. It will be published in the third volume of the *Proceedings* of the Academy.

The fourth volume of *Papers of the British School at Rome* (Macmillan) contains articles on the Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna, III., section 1., by T. Ashby (pp. 160); the Goldsmiths of Rome under the Papal Authority, their Statutes hitherto discovered, and a bibliography (pp. 66); Studies on Roman Historical Reliefs (pp. 50) by A. J. B. Wace and two shorter papers of which one deals with the Early Iron Age in South Italy.

The Macmillan Company have just published *Livy, Book I. and Selections from Books II.-X.*, by Professor Walter Dennison of the University of Michigan. There is a departure from the usual mode of editing Latin texts in that the annotation emphasizes the historical rather than the grammatical side, a feature further emphasized by the inclusion of parallel references to modern handbooks of Roman history.

Mr. H. Stuart Jones, formerly director of the British School at Rome, has written for the "Story of the Nations" series a volume on *The Roman Empire, B. C. 29-A. D. 476* (Putnams).

In the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1907, pp. 165-201, Professor O. Hirschfeld discusses the Roman milestones, of which about four thousand are known. In an appendix it is argued that under

Constantine the Gallic *civitates* were replaced by the cities as governmental units, often with a transference to the city of the old communal name.

La Frontière de l'Euphrate, de Pompée à la Conquête Arabe, by Victor Chapot, forms the 99th volume of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* (Paris, Fontemoing).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. W. Botsford, *The Roman Gens* (Political Science Quarterly, December); R. C. Bosanquet, *Greek Temples and Early Religion* (Quarterly Review, January); Paul Allard, *La Jeunesse de Sidoine Apollinaire* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

A valuable work on *Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum*, by Paul Wendland (Tübingen, Mohr, 1907), forms the second part of the first volume of the *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* edited by H. Lietzmann, H. Gressmann and others.

Professor W. M. Ramsay's studies of *The Cities of St. Paul. Their Influence on his Life and Thought: The Cities of Eastern Asia Minor* (A. C. Armstrong, 1908, pp. 452), which include parts on *Paulinism in the Graeco-Roman World* and on *St. Paul in the Roman World*, were the Dale Memorial lectures, delivered in Mansfield College, Oxford, in 1907.

Les Idées Philosophiques et Religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie is the subject of a critical work by Émile Bréhier (Paris, Picard, 1908, pp. xiv, 340).

L'Église Chrétienne au Temps de Saint Ignace d'Antioche (Paris, Beauchesne, 1907, pp. 266), an interesting study of early Christianity by Henri de Genouillac, treats of St. Ignatius and his work in their historic milieu and discusses in detail his theological position and his personality.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The authorities of the Vatican Library are preparing to bring out, as the sixth of the *Codices e Vaticanis Selecti Phototypice Expressi*, the miniatures of the *Topographia Christiana* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, cod. Vat. gr. 699.

An enlarged edition of Professors D. C. Munro and G. C. Sellery's *Medieval Civilization: Selected Studies from European Authors* (1907, pp. x, 594) has been published by the Century Company.

The first part of Professor Siegfried Rietschel's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Germanischen Hundertschaft* treats of *Die Skandinavische und Angelsächsische Hundertschaft* (Weimar, Böhlau, 1907,

pp. 95). It was originally printed in the *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*.

Professor J. Friedrich's monograph *Über die Kontroversen Fragen im Leben des Gotischen Geschichtschreibers Jordanes* (Munich, G. Franz, pp. 379-442) has been reprinted from the transactions of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences.

Professor Hans Prutz, the well-known authority in this field, has published a volume on *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden: Ihre Stellung zur Kirchlichen, Politischen, Gesellschaftlichen und Wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung des Mittelalters* (Berlin, Mittler, 1908, pp. xviii, 549).

Professor H. Pirenne's discussion *A propos de la Lettre d'Alexis Comnène à Robert le Frison, Comte de Flandre* (Brussels, Lamertin, pp. 217-227), which originally appeared in the *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique*, has been issued in separate form.

Mr. Murray is issuing a work by William Miller on *The Latins in the Levant: a History of Frankish Greece (1204-1566)*, which is based on documentary material both published and unpublished.

Théodore II. Lascaris, Empereur de Nicée (Paris, Picard, 1908, pp. xv, 192) by M. J. B. Pappadopoulos, appears to be a very complete and scholarly study of the life, reign and writings of the emperor.

Dr. H. Fischer's chronological-historical investigations regarding *Der Heilige Franziskus von Assisi während der Jahre 1219-1221*, forms the fourth volume in the *Freiburger Historische Studien* (Freiburg, Universitäts Buchhandlung).

The twenty-second volume of the *Recueil de Voyages et de Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Géographie depuis le XIII^e jusqu'à la Fin du XV^e Siècle* (Paris, E. Leroux) is *Le Livre de la Description des Pays* of Gilles le Bouvier, called Berry, first king of arms of Charles VII., king of France, published for the first time with an introduction and notes, and followed by the *Itinéraire Brugeois*, the Table of Velletri, and several other unpublished or little known geographic documents of the fifteenth century, collected and annotated by Dr. E. T. Hamy of the Institute.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Dom L. Gougaud, *L'Oeuvre des Scotti dans l'Europe Continentale (fin vi^e-fin xi^e siècles)*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, January); Achille Luchaire, *Innocent III. et le Quatrième Concile de Latran* (*Revue Historique*, March-April).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The fourth volume of M. Richard Waddington's *Histoire Diplomatique et Militaire de la Guerre de Sept Ans* (Firmin-Didot) treats of *Torgau et le Pacte de Famille*.

The well-known writers on the Napoleonic period, Dr. Holland Rose and Mr. A. M. Broadley, are publishing through Mr. John Lane a work on *Dumouriez and the Defense of England against Napoleon*, which will include many illustrations and several unpublished documents.

Ernst von Meier aims at tracing the influence of French conceptions on the public law of Prussia in a work called *Französische Einflüsse auf die Staats- und Rechtsentwicklung Preussens im XIXten Jahrhundert*, of which a volume on the *Prolegomena* of the subject was published last year (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, pp. viii, 242.)

Nagao Ariga, professor of international law at the high school for the navy and army, Tokio, has written a study based on unpublished official documents kept by the historical section of the Japanese general staff, on the war of 1904-1905, entitled *La Guerre Russo-Japonaise au Point de Vue Continental et le Droit International* (Paris, Pedone).

Mr. Alleyne Ireland, after several years spent in the intimate study of British colonial administration in the Far East, has published, in two volumes on *The Province of Burma* (Houghton), the first instalment of a twelve-volume work on the subject.

The *Archives Diplomatiques* (20 rue de Tournon, Paris) has issued a verbatim report of the Second Peace Conference, the final act and diplomatic correspondence.

The American Branch of the Association for International Conciliation has issued a reprint of the article by Dr. David Jayne Hill on "The Net Result at the Hague", published in the *Review of Reviews* for December, 1907, that by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant on "The Results of the Second Hague Conference", published in the *Independent* of November 21, 1907, and a pamphlet of twenty-seven pages by Professor James Brown Scott of the Department of State, on *The Work of the Second Hague Conference*.

Documentary publications: A. Chuquet, *Journal de Voyage du Général Desaix: Suisse et Italie, 1797* (Plon, pp. xii, 305); M. A. Polovtsoff, *Correspondance Diplomatique des Ambassadeurs de Russie en France et de France en Russie avec leurs Gouvernements (1814-1830)* (Paris, Conard).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. F. Chance, *The Northern Pacification of 1719-20*, III. (The English Historical Review, January); H. T. Colenbrander, *Les Rapports de la Hollande et de la France, 1780-1815: État des Travaux* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, January); J. Ribet, *Diplomatie d'Hier et Diplomatie d'Aujourd'hui* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, January); Edward G. Elliott, *The Development of International Law by the Second Hague Conference* (Columbia Law Review, February).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The Oxford University Press will publish an exhaustive *catalogue raisonné* of the nearly 2000 portraits in possession of the university, colleges and municipality of Oxford, on the lines of the catalogues of the three exhibitions of historical portraits already held at Oxford. Mr. W. Roberts will describe the portraits, and Mrs. R. L. Poole will contribute the biographies.

M. Léopold Delisle defends his theory relative to the *Formules Rex Anglorum et Dei Gratia Rex Anglorum* (Chantilly, 1907, pp. 13) in the form of a letter to Mr. J. Horace Round, who has opposed his conclusions.

The Selden Society volume for 1907, *The Year Book 3-4 Edward II.*, edited by the late Professor F. W. Maitland, will be placed in the hands of members of the society before the end of April. For 1908 they will receive the first volume of *Select Pleas of Fair Courts and other Records concerning the Law Merchant*, edited by Professor Charles Gross.

Eugène Déprez, who is editing for the Society of the History of France all the private and secret letters preserved in the London Public Record Office, dating from 1272 to 1485 and relating to French history, has published a valuable little volume, *Études de Diplomatie Anglaise de l'Avènement d'Édouard I^{er} à celui de Henri VII., 1272-1485* (Paris, Champion, 1908, pp. 126), which treats of the English chancery and of certain special types of royal acts received by it, chiefly the letters of privy seal and the secret letters. The documents printed in the volume are all drawn from the Privy Seals series in the Public Record Office and have not previously been published.

The Fitz-Patrick lectures delivered by Dr. Norman Moore before the Royal College of Physicians of London are being published under the title *The History of the Study of Medicine in the British Isles* (London, Frowde). The topics covered are: medical study in London during the Middle Ages; the education of physicians in London in the seventeenth century; and the history of the study of clinical medicine in the British Isles.

Abbot F. A. Gasquet has published a new and revised edition of his excellent history of *The Great Pestilence* under the title *The Black Death of 1348 and 1349* (London, Bell). The same house is publishing *The Last Abbot of Glastonbury* and other essays by the same author.

A History of the English Agricultural Labourer, by Dr. W. Hasbach of the University of Kiel, has been translated and brought up to date by Miss Ruth Kenyon, and is being published by Messrs. P. S. King.

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester: a Biography (Constable, pp. xviii, 491) by K. H. Vickers of Exeter College, Oxford, now lecturer in

modern history at University College, Bristol, treats of the career of the duke as soldier, statesman and humanist. The political influence of the city of London in the fifteenth century is shown. A list of sources and authorities fills twenty pages.

A work published in 1905 by Professor Josef Redlich of the University of Vienna has been well translated by A. E. Steinthal and issued in three volumes under the title *The Procedure of the House of Commons: a Study of its History and Present Form* (London, Constable). Sir Courtenay Ilbert, clerk of the House of Commons, contributes an introduction and a supplementary chapter on the changes introduced by the present government.

A fourth and revised edition of Archdeacon William Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times* has been published by the Cambridge University Press at a considerably lower price. The two parts on the Mercantile System and Laissez Faire are now obtainable separately, and the parts entitled Parliamentary Colbertism and Laissez Faire are also issued in one volume under the title *The Industrial Revolution*.

Mr. Murray announces a work on *The King's Customs* by Henry Atton and Henry Hurst Holland. The authors treat of the effects of the Navigation acts; the rise and sway of some of the commercial companies; the development of smuggling during the Georgian period, the methods of revenue farmers, customs and contrabandists, and social conditions.

Major Martin Hume will publish through Methuen a book on *Philip and Two English Queens* which will include much new information concerning the life of Philip II. in England.

Mr. C. L. Kingsford, whose edition of some early *Chronicles of London* was favorably reviewed in a former number of this journal (XI. 884-885), is publishing an edition of Stow's *Survey of London* through the Oxford University Press.

The third volume of Dr. James Mackinnon's *History of Modern Liberty* (Longmans) deals with the struggle for political liberty in England and Scotland in the seventeenth century.

We can mention only a few of the numerous British works combining biographical and historical interest that have been recently published or are announced for early publication: *A Scots Earl in Covenanting Times: Being Life and Times of Archibald, Ninth Earl of Argyll* (1629-1685), by John Willcock, author of *The Great Marquess*, the ninth earl's father (Edinburgh, Elliott, pp. 448); *Our First Ambassador to China*, the life and correspondence of George, first earl Macartney, 1737-1806, governor of Grenada, envoy at St. Petersburg, chief secretary for Ireland, governor of Madras, ambassador to Pekin, governor of the Cape of Good Hope, etc., from hitherto unpublished

correspondence and documents, by Mrs. H. H. Robbins (Murray, pp. 479); *Bombay in the Day of George IV.: Memoirs of Sir Edward West* (1782-1828), chief justice of the King's Court during its conflict with the East India Company, with hitherto unpublished documents, by Dr. F. D. Drewitt (Longmans, pp. 368); *Brougham and his Early Friends*, hitherto unpublished letters collected and arranged by R. H. M. B. Atkinson and G. A. Jackson (three volumes privately printed, sold by Quaritch); *Before and After Waterloo*, letters written by Edward Stanley, father of Dean Stanley, 1802-1816, edited by J. H. Adeane and M. Grenfell (London, Fisher Unwin); *Correspondence of George Canning and some Intimate Friends*, containing hitherto unpublished letters of the Marquess Wellesley, Lord Lyttelton and other statesmen, edited by J. Bagot (Murray, two volumes); *John Thadeus Delane, 1817-1879*, editor of the *Times*, his life and correspondence, compiled from hitherto unpublished letters by A. I. Dasent, and including letters from Palmerston, Disraeli, Lord Brougham and other statesmen (Murray, two volumes); *The Reminiscences of the Late Albert Pell, sometime M. P. for South Leicestershire* (Murray) edited with memoir by Thomas Mackay, and an appreciation by James Bryce (Mr. Pell was a recognized authority on farming, local government and poor law questions, and the book contains interesting accounts of rural life in England forty or fifty years ago); *Memories of Eight Parliaments*, by Henry W. Lucy (Heinemann).

The King over the Water (Longmans, 1907, pp. xiii, 499) by Miss Alice Shield and Mr. Andrew Lang, is based mainly upon the extensive researches of Miss Shield and presents an unusually favorable picture of the Old Pretender.

A new instalment of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb's survey of *English Local Government*, giving in two volumes an analytic and descriptive account of the administration between 1689 and 1835 of rural manors and municipal boroughs of England and Wales, has been published by Longmans. The work throws new light upon the manor, its courts and juries, and its relation to other authorities.

John Law of Lauriston (London, E. Saunders) by A. W. Wiston-Glynn presents the first adequate account of the financier.

In Mr. Julian S. Corbett's *England in the Seven Years' War: a Study in Combined Strategy* (Longmans, 1907, pp. xi, 476; vii, 407), the author, who is lecturer in history to the Royal Naval War College, shows that in order to understand the conduct of the war it should be approached from the naval rather than from the military side.

Messrs. Longmans, Green and Company are publishing volumes three and four of the late Sir Spencer Walpole's *History of Twenty-five Years*, a continuation of his *History of England from 1815*, which will bring the work down to 1881.

Mr. Ivor Bowen, barrister-at-law of the South Wales circuit, has collected and edited, and is publishing through Mr. Fisher Unwin, *The Statutes of Wales*, being all the important acts of Parliament relating exclusively or principally to Wales, passed since the time of Magna Charta.

The first volume of a meritorious *History of the Queen's County* (Dublin, Sealy, pp. 440) by the Very Rev. Canon O'Hanlon and the Rev. E. O'Leary comes down to the year 1558.

The recently formed association for promoting the establishment of libraries in Ireland is endeavoring to procure the publication of the Townland Name Books, preserved in the Ordnance Survey Department, Phoenix Park. It has recommended that meanwhile copies should be placed in the Royal Irish Academy, in the National Library and in the offices of the county councils. The association will publish the letters of John O'Donovan and others relating to these names which are of great interest to students of Irish history and archaeology.

Longmans is publishing an *Historical Atlas of India*, by C. Joppen, for the use of high schools and colleges.

British government publications: S. R. Scargill Bird, *Guide to the Various Classes of Documents preserved in the Public Record Office*, third edition (pp. xxxvii, 460); *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Edward III., vol. IX., 1350-1354; *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* on the manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath preserved at Longleat, vol. III.

Other documentary publications: D. Patrick, *The Statutes of the Scottish Church* (Edinburgh, Scottish History Society); Ethel B. Sainsbury, *A Calendar of the Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company, 1635-1639*, with an introduction and notes by W. Foster (Oxford University Press); British Museum, *Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers and MSS. relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth and Restoration, collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661* (London, Frowde, two volumes).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. W. C. Davis, *The English Borough* (Quarterly Review, January); J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council from Edward I. to Edward III.* (English Historical Review, January); Miss Stella Kramer, *The Amalgamation of the English Mercantile Crafts*, I. (English Historical Review, January); T. F. Henderson, *Mr. Lang and the Casket Letters* (Scottish Historical Review, January); A. W. Ward, *Queen Victoria's Letters, 1837-1861* (English Historical Review, January); *Queen Victoria's Letters* (Edinburgh Review, January); G. W. E. Russell, *The Queen and the Whigs* (Cornhill Magazine, February); Charles Menmuir, *The Social Condition of Eighteenth Century Ireland* (Westminster Review, January).

FRANCE

The celebrated geographer, M. Vidal de la Blache, has reissued in a volume entitled *La France* (Hachette, 1908), the geographical description contributed by him to M. Lavis's *Histoire de la France*. The three hundred illustrations, in no instance selected for their picturesque character, form a new and highly valuable feature of the work.

The Vienna Academy of Sciences has entrusted to the Belgian scholar Germain Morin, the preparation of a new and critical edition of the works of the fifth-century churchman, Caesarius of Arles.

Professor Ch.-V. Langlois has brought together into a volume entitled *La Vie en France au Moyen Âge d'après Quelques Moralistes du Temps* (Paris, Hachette, 1908, pp. xix, 359) extracts from ten works, written in the vernacular, and edited with a sufficient amount of explanatory matter to make clear their value to the student of medieval manners and modes of thought.

Claude Faure's scholarly *Histoire de la Réunion de Vienne à la France, 1328-1454* (Grenoble, Allier, 1907, pp. 362) includes a number of *pièces justificatives* important for this subject.

Félix Dignonnet, administrator of the Musée Calvet of Avignon, has published an illustrated account of *Le Palais des Papes d'Avignon* (Avignon, Seguin, 1907, pp. 424) in which he sketches the history of the city of Avignon and the county of Venaissin before the coming of the popes, the causes of their residence in Avignon and of their withdrawal, and describes in detail the history of the construction of the palace as it was enlarged or altered during successive reigns. The concluding chapter is a guide to the palace in its present state.

La Maison d'Armagnac au XV^e Siècle, et les Dernières Luites de la Féodalité dans le Midi de la France, by Ch. Samaran (Picard, pp. xxi, 523) forms the seventh volume of the *Mémoires et Documents* published by the Société de l'École des Chartes.

The first volume of M. Anatole France's *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy) has gone through a remarkably large number of editions since its publication some two months ago.

M. André Marty, whose sumptuous volume on Marie Antoinette was noted in a recent number of this journal (XII. 949), has collected in a *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, d'après les Documents Originaux et les Oeuvres d'Art du XV^e au XIX^e Siècle* (Orléans, M. Marron), one hundred facsimiles of manuscripts, miniatures, prints, etc. M. Marius Sepet has written an introduction to this work, of which only 250 copies have been printed, sold at 100 francs each.

T. Douglas Murray's *Jeanne d'Arc*, which will be published by the McClure Company, contains the complete proceedings of the trial, translated from the original Latin.

Under the title *Voyages Français à Destination de la Mer du Sud avant Bougainville, 1695-1749* (extract from the *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, vol. XIV., Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1907, pp. 423-568) Mr. E. W. Dahlgren, director of the Royal Library of Stockholm, has compiled a series of notices of French vessels that during this period sailed to the South Sea, stating the names of the vessels, the ports whence they originally sailed, the names of captains and owners, dates of departure and return, names of ports stopped at, and value of cargoes. The sources of information, mostly manuscript, are given in each case, and the list is preceded by an interesting general sketch of the history and results of the voyages (pp. 423-439). The author has in view the early publication of a more extended treatise on the subject.

A critical study of the text and of the historical value of the *Commentaires of Blaise de Monluc Historien* (Paris, Picard, 1908, pp. xlviii, 685) by P. Courteault is based upon very extensive researches in the archives of Paris, of the French provinces and of Italy, which also throw new light on the life of Monluc, upon the political, diplomatic and military history of the reigns of Francis I. and of Henry II., and upon the first three civil wars in the south of France.

Le Parlement de Bretagne (1554-1790), a biographical repertory of all the members of the court, accompanied by chronological and other lists and preceded by an historical introduction, has been compiled by F. Saulnier for issue in 1908 through Plihon and Hommay, Rennes.

M. Frantz Funck-Brentano has written an interesting account, based on original sources, of *Mandrin, Capitaine-Général des Contrebandiers de France* (Paris, Hachette, 1908, pp. xii, 574) which traces the history and organization of the various forms of taxes and the administration of the farmers-general, and explains the popular sympathy for the prince of *contrebandiers*.

M. G. Bonet-Maury has collected into his volume entitled *France, Christianisme et Civilisation* (Paris, Hachette, 1907, pp. viii, 313) a number of articles previously printed in reviews. The five chapters of his book are entitled: Les Missions Chrétiennes et leur Rôle Civilisateur; Les Précurseurs Français du Cardinal Lavigerie dans l'Afrique Musulmane; La France et la Rédemption des Esclaves en Algérie à la Fin du XVII^e Siècle; La France et le Mouvement Antiesclavagiste au XIX^e Siècle; Le Congrès Religieux de Chicago et la Réunion des Églises. M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu contributes a preface.

A very detailed monograph by M. L. Legras on the *Histoire de la Commune de Tronquay* (Saint Lô, Imp. de Basse Normandie, 1907, pp. 222) throws fresh and important light on such economic matters as the history of taxation in France in the eighteenth century and the division of landed property.

The first volume of Maurice Dumolin's *Précis d'Histoire Militaire* (Paris, Andriveau-Goujon, pp. 980, and 100 sketches) relates to the French Revolution, and has an introduction on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some fascicles have been published of the second volume, on the Empire.

The second fascicle of Pierre Caron's *Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de la France depuis 1789* (Paris, Cornély, 1907, pp. 160), containing 3197 numbers, completes the sections relating to internal political history and diplomatic history and begins the section relating to military history.

Professor A. Esmein of the Faculty of Paris has published a *Précis Élémentaire d'Histoire du Droit Français* during the Revolution, Consulate and Empire.

The Société des Études Robespierristes, with headquarters at the Librairie Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, has been recently organized for the purpose of finding, classifying and publishing all historical documents that will throw new light on the life and influence of Robespierre, and of investigating with scientific impartiality the history of the Revolution and of later revolutionary thought. The first number of the organ of this society, a quarterly review, *Annales Révolutionnaires* (Paris, Leroux, 1908, pp. 183) contains articles by MM. Arthur Chuquet of the Institute, Albert Mathiez, V. Barbier, Ch. Vellay and Mlle. Louise Lévi, besides notes, documents, reviews and lists of new publications. The society will also issue an edition of the complete works of Robespierre by MM. Victor Barbier and C. Vellay.

Pages Choiesies des Grands Républicains is the title of a collection that will represent most of the principal personages of the Revolution. The first volume, *Robespierre* (Paris, Schemit, pp. xxiii, 182) includes the most noteworthy passages from his discourses.

The fourth volume of L. de Lanza de Laborie's *Paris sous Napoléon* is devoted entirely to religion. The first three volumes of this work have been awarded the Grand Prix Gobert of the French Academy and the Prix Berger of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences.

A translation by Dr. G. K. Fortescue of Thibaudeau's *Mémoires sur le Consulat*, originally published in Paris in 1827, will shortly be published by Messrs. Methuen under the title *Bonaparte and the Consulate*.

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher of the British Academy has brought together into a volume entitled *Bonapartism* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908, pp. iv, 122) six interesting lectures delivered by him in the University of London. He shows that the Bonapartist governments of both the First and the Second Empires "were to a large extent inspired by the same principles, rested upon the support of the same intellectual and social forces, . . . and shared in the same kind of ruin".

Lamartine et la Politique Étrangère de la Révolution de Février, 24 Février-24 Juin, 1848 (Paris, Juven) is the subject of a work by M. P. Quentin-Bauchard.

In the historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* of January-February, M. A. Lichtenberger reviews the more important recent works relating to contemporary France.

The eleventh volume of the *Histoire Socialiste, 1789-1900*, published under the direction of M. Jaurès, treats of La Guerre Franco-Allemande, 1870-1871, by M. Jaurès, and La Commune, 1871, by M. L. Dubreuilh.

Documentary publications: Marquis de Ripert-Monclar, *Cartulaire de la Commanderie de Richerenches de l'Ordre de Temple* (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. clxiv, 307); A. Gazier, *Mémoires de Godefroi Hermant, Docteur de Sorbonne, Chanoine de Beauvais, Ancien Recteur de l'Université, sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique du XVII^e Siècle (1630-1663)*, IV., 1658-1661 (Paris, Plon, 1907, pp. 739); E. Arber, *The Torments of Protestant Slaves in the French King's Gallies and in the Dungeons of Marseilles, 1686-1707*, "The Christian Library", II. [Three narratives of Huguenot galley-slaves] (London, Stock); P. de Vaissière, *Lettres d'Aristocrates, 1789-1794* (Paris, Perrin, 1907, pp. xxxviii, 626); Comte Boulay de la Meurthe, *Correspondance du Duc d'Enghien (1801-1804) et Documents sur son Enlèvement et sa Mort*, II. *Découverte du Complot: la Sentence de Vincennes* [Published for the Society of Contemporary History] (Paris, Picard, 1908, pp. 475); P. Fain, *Mémoires du Baron Fain* [First Secretary to Napoleon I.] (Paris, Plon); Duc de Chambord, Comte de Paris and Duc d'Orléans, *La Monarchie Française: Lettres et Documents Politiques, 1844-1907* (Paris, Nouvelle Libr. Nationale, 1907, pp. 277); A. Hélot, *Journal Politique de Charles Lacombe, Député de l'Assemblée Nationale*, II. January, 1874-November, 1877 [Publications of the Society of Contemporary History, XXXIX.] (Paris, Picard, pp. xlxi, 394.)

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Bédier, *La Légende de Raoul de Cambrai*, concl. (*Revue Historique*, January-February); H. Moranvillé, *Charles d'Artois* (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, September-December); F. Aubert, *Le Parlement et la Réforme* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January); L. Febvre, *Guillaume Budé et les Origines de l'Humanisme Français à propos d'Ouvrages Récents* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, December); J. Nouaillac, *Le Règne de Henri IV. (1589-1610): Sources, Travaux, et Questions à Traiter*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, November); J. de la Servière, *Les Idées Politiques du Cardinal Bellarmin*, concl. (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January); L. Batiffol, *Le Coup d'État du 24 Avril 1617*, II. (*Revue Historique*, January-February); H. Hauser, *Les Pouvoirs Publics et l'Organisation du Travail dans l'Ancienne France*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, December); C. Schmidt, *La*

Crise Industrielle de 1788 en France (Revue Historique, January-February); A. Carré, *L'Assemblée Constituante et la "Mise en Vacances" des Parlements, Novembre 1789-Janvier 1790*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, January); E. Déprez, *Les Origines Républicaines de Bonaparte* (Revue Historique, March-April); H. de Grimoüard, *Les Origines du Domaine Extraordinaire: Le Receveur Général des Contributions de la Grande Armée, ses Attributions, ses Comptes, 1805-1810* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); G. Weill, *Les Journaux Ouvriers à Paris, 1830-1870* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, November).

ITALY AND SPAIN

The first part of the second volume (*Guelfen und Ghibellinen*) of Dr. R. M. Davidsohn's *Geschichte von Florenz* treats of the *Staufische Kämpfe* (Berlin, Mittler, 1908, pp. xii, 621). The same author has also issued through the same house the fourth part of *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz* (1908, pp. vi, 616), on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

André Bonnefons has published a study of the fate of Venice, as a neutral state under the Revolution, under the title *La Chute de la République de Venise, 1789-1797* (Paris, Perrin).

The Interpretation of Italy during the Last Two Centuries (University of Chicago Press) a contribution to the study of Goethe's *Italienische Reise*, by Professor Camillo von Klenze of Brown University, is of interest to the student of European culture.

La Jeune Italie et la Jeune Europe, a collection of unpublished letters by Joseph Mazzini to Louis-Amédée Melegari, has been edited by Dora Melegari and issued by the Librairie Fischbacher.

In honor of the first centenary of the birth of Garibaldi, the municipality of Bologna is offering a prize of 10,000 francs for the best historical account of the Expedition of the Thousand. The manuscripts, which may be in Italian, French, English or German, must be received by June 30, 1910.

In the *Revue Historique* for March-April Don Rafael Altamira gives an extensive general survey of the publications of 1901-1906 on the history of Spain, M. Georges Bourgin of recent books on the history of Italy in the nineteenth century.

Under the patronage of the legislative assembly of Barcelona has been established an "Instituto de Estudios Catalanes" with purposes partly historical. It announces as its first publication a volume of *Documents para l'Historia de la Cultura Catalana*, edited by Don Antonio Rubió y Lluch, to be followed by *Les Monedes Catalanes*, by Señor Botet y Sisó.

Dr. Henry C. Lea's new work on *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (Macmillan, 1908, pp. xvi, 564) is a detailed investigation into the careers of tribunals in Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, Milan, the Canaries, Mexico, Peru and New Granada.

Documentary publications: Friar Alonso de Espinosa, *The Guanches of Tenerife: the Holy Image of Our Lady of Candelaria, and the Spanish Conquest and Settlement*, translated and edited by Sir Clements Markham (London, Hakluyt Society, pp. xxvi, 221); *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña*, XI., eds. Fita and Oliver [Cortes of 1412-1414 and supplements to 1305, 1307 and 1357].

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. A. Navarro, *Los Señores Aragoneses: Actos de Posesión y Homenajes* (Cultura Española, November); A. Marx, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Jewish Quarterly Review, January).

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Longmans is publishing a new volume of posthumous lectures by Bishop Stubbs on *Germany in the Dark and Middle Ages*.

Numbers four and five in the series of *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer) edited by Professors Brandenburg, Seeliger and Wilcken are *Die Gerichtsbefugnisse der Patrimonialen Gewalten in Niederösterreich: Ursprung und Entwicklung von Grund-, Dorf- und Vogtobrigkeit* (pp. viii, 100) by Dr. P. Osswald and *August der Starke und die Pragmatische Sanktion* (pp. xv, 139) by Dr. A. Philipp.

The first volume of the *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Friedrich I.* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1908, pp. xxiv, 784) by H. Simonsfeld covers the years 1152 to 1158.

Dr. D. H. Siebert's *Beiträge zur Vorreformatischen Heiligen- und Reliquienverehrung* (1907, pp. xi, 64) forms the first heft of the sixth volume of *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes* (Freiburg, Herder), edited by L. Pastor.

Volume X. of the *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot), edited by Walther Stein, extends from 1471 to 1485, and contains many documents relating to important international negotiations, as well as a great store of documents for the history of commerce.

The principal works published in 1906 concerning the modern and contemporaneous history of Germany are reviewed by M. Philippson in the historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* of January-February.

The first heft of the *Studien zur Fugger-Geschichte* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot) edited by Max Jansen is a work by the editor on *Die Anfänge der Fugger, bis 1494* (1907, pp. x, 200).

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The first volume of Professor F. Thudichum's history of *Die Deutsche Reformation, 1517-1537* (Leipzig, Sängewald, 1907, pp. 614) comes down to 1525.

A Brief Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort, 1554-1558 (London, Stock), attributed to William Whittingham, introduces the reader to Calvin, Beza, Knox and other divines. The volume is the first of a series of reprints, which will be issued by Mr. Edward Arber under the title "A Christian Library".

Mr. C. T. Atkinson, fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, is publishing *A History of Germany from 1713 to 1815* (Methuen).

The principal contribution to the *Zeitschrift für Brüdergeschichte* for 1907, published at Herrnhut, by the Society for the History of the Moravian Brethren, is the journal for the years 1716-1719 of Count Nicolaus Ludwig Zinzendorf, the founder of the society. Besides this semi-annual periodical the society will publish in separate volumes the sources of the history of the Moravian Brethren.

Heinrich Friedjung, whose book on *Der Krimkrieg und die Österreichische Politik* was reviewed in a recent number of this journal, has since published the first of two volumes on *Österreich von 1848 bis 1860* (Berlin, Cotta).

Documentary publications: H. Bloch, *Annales Marbacenses qui dicuntur; Cronica Hohenburgensia cum continuatione et additamentis Neoburgensibus; Annales Alsatici Breviores*. [Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usus Scholarum] (Hanover, Hahn, pp. xxiv, 167); M. A. Currie, *The Letters of Martin Luther* [translated from the Latin collection edited by De Wette] (London, Macmillan).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

In the sixty-sixth volume of the *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* (Brussels, Kiessling, 1907, pp. xcvi, 536) Abbé A. Cauchie, professor at Louvain, gives an inventory of the archives of Margaret of Parma, and other inventories from the Farnesi archives at Naples; M. Henri Lonchay gives an account of the archives of Simancas from the point of view of the history of the Low Countries in the seventeenth century, and presents an inventory of the petitions to the Supreme Council of Flanders and Burgundy, prepared by Señor Julian Paz of the archives of Simancas; and Professor Carlo Bornate of Spezia prints a memoir of Chancellor Mercurino de Gattinara on the rights of Charles V. over the duchy of Burgundy and its dependencies, which he found in the archives of the Marquis de Gattinara.

Volume XXIX. of the *Verslagen omtrent 'sRijks Oude Archieven* (the Hague, 1907, pp. 533) contains, besides the customary annual reports of the Rijksarchief at the Hague and the archives of the

provinces, an extensive list of the unusually important acquisitions made by the former during 1906, and an inventory of the archives of the Anabaptist community in Middelburg, extending from 1694 (in a sense from 1577). The volume concludes with the annual reports of the Commission of Advice on National Historical Publications and of the Historical Institute in Rome.

In the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, vol. XXVIII., Abbé Brom has studied in detail the effects of the Great Schism in the diocese of Utrecht (practically the Netherlands). A further and recently discovered portion of the correspondence of Joan Derck van der Capellen tot den Pol, printed in this volume, should, like the volume published in 1879, contain valuable material for the history of the American Revolution.

EASTERN EUROPE

Kulturgrenze und Kulturzyklus in den Polnischen Westbeskiden (Gotha, Perthes, 1907, pp. vii, 115), a contribution to anthropo-geography by Dr. Erwin Hanslik, is *Ergänzungsheft* no. 158 of *Petermanns Mitteilungen*.

The Cambridge University Press has published in the Cambridge Historical Series a work by Mr. R. Nisbet Bain on *Slavonic Europe: a Political History of Poland and Russia from 1447 to 1796* (1908, pp. 452) which is believed to be the only compendium in English relating to precisely this theme.

The first volume of Professor N. Jorga's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, which has recently been published in Professor Lamprecht's series of *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte: Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*, comes down to the year 1451.

Dr. Samuel N. Harper, associate in Russian in the University of Chicago, presents in a pamphlet of fifty-six pages, published by the University of Chicago Press, a thorough, and partly historical, study of *The New Electoral Law for the Russian Duma*.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Professor Carl Russell Fish of the University of Wisconsin will go to Italy next summer, as a "research associate" of the Carnegie Institution, to spend a year in investigation of the Roman archives and the preparation of an inventory of the materials they contain for the history of the United States. Mr. Leland and Professor Bolton continue till September their investigations in Paris and Mexico. The second edition of the *Guide to the Archives of the Government in*

Washington has appeared, and is described on another page. Professor Allison has nearly completed the collection of material for his inventory of archives for the religious history of the United States. The *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States, to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge*, by Professor Andrews and Miss Davenport, is in the press. It will make a volume of about 500 pages. The annual report of the director of the Department of Historical Research for 1907 (9 pp.) has been issued separately from the sixth *Year-Book* of the Institution. Progress has been made with the volumes of treaties, of letters of delegates to the Continental Congress and of Parliamentary proceedings and debates respecting America, and with the list of Spanish transcripts in the United States. In accordance with recent action of the trustees of the Carnegie Institution, publications of the Department must hereafter be obtained by purchase.

The annual bibliography entitled *Writings on American History, 1906*, compiled by Miss Grace G. Griffin, is now in press, and may be expected to be published (Macmillan) in May. Much of the work of compiling the volume for 1907 has been accomplished. By the kindness of Dr. James Bain, chief librarian of the Toronto Public Library, arrangements have been effected whereby the Canadian section will be made much more complete than it could be made by work in Washington alone.

The Department of Economics and Sociology in the Carnegie Institution of Washington reports the completion of a volume on the *State Works of Pennsylvania*, by Mr. A. L. Bishop, of one on the *History of Railway Finance*, by Professor F. A. Cleveland, of one on the *History of Transportation in the Southern Cotton Belt, to 1861*, by Professor U. B. Phillips, of one on the *History of the Organization of Ocean Commerce*, by Dr. J. Russell Smith, and of monographs on the history of banking in Pennsylvania and in Florida, by Messrs. J. H. Holdsworth and D. Y. Thomas respectively. Of Miss Hasse's index to the economic material in state publications the Institution has published the parts relating to Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and New York, and those relating to Massachusetts and Rhode Island are in press.

Among the manuscripts recently acquired by the Library of Congress may be mentioned: some miscellaneous matter relating to the War of 1812, from the papers of Brigadier-General John McNeil; some miscellaneous papers of A. H. H. Stuart and John Esten Cooke of Virginia; a number of legal documents in the writing of Roger Sherman; the original manuscript of Condorcet's *Éloge* of Benjamin Franklin; a number of Revolutionary papers from New Hampshire; and a good collection of Tennessee political broadsides. The transcripts of Spanish documents relating to the Spanish settlements of the United States,

made by the late Woodbury Lowery, have been received and are now accessible; as are the papers obtained from the New Orleans Custom House. These last relate to the early commerce of the Mississippi Valley and to the management of the Custom House while New Orleans was under the Confederacy.

The sixth volume of the "Original Narratives of Early American History", devoted to Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, has appeared. The seventh and eighth, comprising Dr. James K. Hosmer's edition of Winthrop's *Journal*, is in the press. The ninth and tenth, *Narratives of New Netherland* and Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence*, both edited by J. F. Jameson, are in preparation. In the case of the former, great pains are being taken to substitute correct translations from the Dutch for the incorrect versions of New Netherland narratives now current. The volume will comprise Meteren's and Juet's narratives of Hudson's voyage, the appropriate portions of De Laet, Wassenauer and De Vries, the letters of Rasières, Michaelius and Jogues, the journey of 1634 to the Mohawks, the account of them by Megapolensis, Jogues's *Novum Belgium*, the "Journal of New Netherland" of 1647, the *Vertoogh* of 1650 and Van Tienhoven's reply, Bogaert's letter to Bontemantel, several letters to the Classis of Amsterdam, Van Ruyven's journal, an unpublished description of Manhattan in 1662, the town council's account of the surrender and Stuyvesant's defence.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society at its annual meeting of October, 1907, contains an article by Professor Edward Channing on Colonel Thomas Dongan; a paper entitled "Was it Andros?" by Mr. Andrew MacFarland Davis, on alterations in a pamphlet of 1688 respecting the erection of a bank; and a calendar of those manuscripts of Sir William Johnson possessed by the society, prepared by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln.

Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, goes to England in May to spend three months in researches connected with the editing, which he has undertaken for the American Antiquarian Society, of two volumes of the royal proclamations respecting America, extending from 1607 to 1815.

In the September issue of the *Magazine of History* Mr. George C. Benedict gives an account of the recovery of the Fay Records, the minutes of the general conventions of Vermont made by the secretary, Jonas Fay, which were recently discovered in the Library of Congress. The October number of the magazine opens with a first paper by Albert S. Batchellor bearing the title: "The Ranger Service in the Upper Valley of the Connecticut, and the Most Northerly Regiment of New Hampshire Militia in the period of the Revolution". There is a brief article on Michael Hillegas, and an account of "The Massacre of the

Verendrye Party at Lake of the Woods", by N. H. Winchell. In the November issue Mr. Batchellor's second paper on the ranger service appears, and Dr. F. C. Clark of Providence begins a series of papers bearing the title: "The Maryland Episode", dealing with the question of religious toleration in the colony. In the same issue are some letters of Washington, Jefferson and Henry Laurens. One of the Jefferson letters is of date August 25, 1814, and discusses the slavery question.

No. 16 of the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society (1907, pp. xvii, 230) contains further notes on the history of the Jews in Surinam, by Rev. P. A. Hilfman, accompanied by a provisional catalogue of the old records of the Dutch-Portuguese congregation in Paramaribo; an account of the struggle for religious liberty in North Carolina, with special reference to the Jews, by Mr. Leon Hühner; two papers on Jacob Philadelphia, the mystic and physicist, relating to his early life and to his relations with Frederick the Great; and an elaborate study, by Mr. Samuel Oppenheim, of a Jewish colony established on the Pomeroon River in Western Guiana, in 1658, and destroyed by an English incursion from Barbados by John Scott, in 1666. The Dutch grant of privileges for this colony is shown by Mr. Oppenheim to have been the origin of the British grant of privileges to the Jews of Surinam in 1665.

The German American Historical Society held its annual meeting in Philadelphia on January 6. Former Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker spoke of the part which Anabaptists and Quakers had played in the history of Pennsylvania, and Dr. C. J. Hexamer discussed the topic "Research in German American History as a Patriotic Motive of American Citizenship". Other brief addresses were made.

The *Year-Book of the Swedish-American Historical Society* (Chicago, 1907, pp. 64) contains an article by Mr. Oliver A. Linder, entitled "John Morton: En af Revolutionens Svensk-Amerikaner". Morton of Pennsylvania, signer of the Declaration of Independence, is classed as above on account of his descent from Morton Mortenson, a Swedish immigrant to New Sweden. The proceedings of the society are to be published in English, except that papers read or presented in Swedish will be printed in that language. The society is endeavoring to collect a Swedish-American library in Chicago.

The January number of the *American Catholic Historical Researches* contains a good deal of matter relating to privateers and privateersmen of the Revolution. Among the historical documents in this number are a report by the "Committee of Grievances and Courts", May 22, 1751, against papists of Maryland sending children to foreign seminaries; and a protest of Church of England ministers of Maryland against popish schoolmasters and popish priests.

The volume of *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society issued in November (volume V., part I.,

pp. 247) contains an unusual number of valuable articles. Mr. A. F. Bandelier contributes a study of the Indians and aboriginal ruins near Chachapoyas in Northern Peru; Dr. A. M. Fernandez de Ybarra gives a sketch of Diego Alvarez Chanca, of Seville, a physician who accompanied Columbus on his voyage to America in 1493; Dr. C. G. Herbermann writes in an interesting manner of New York a hundred and twenty years ago, on the basis of the city's first directory; and Rev. John J. O'Brien presents a useful account of the career of "The Rev. Gabriel Richard: Educator, Statesman and Priest". Nearly thirty pages of the volume are taken up with letters of Rev. P. J. de Smet, S. J. The letters appear in translation made by John E. Cahalan, are of the period 1849-1860, and relate chiefly to missionary enterprises among the Indians.

The Viscount de Fronsac contributes to the January number of the *American Historical Magazine* an article entitled: "The Honorable Matthew Forsyth [1699-1791] and the Scottish Influence in America". "The Stolen Plate", by T. J. Chapman, discusses the incident of the French leaden plate delivered by an Indian chief to Sir William Johnson in 1750. In the series of "Post Revolution Letters" are several letters of interest, one from Lafayette to Washington, written from Paris in November, 1783; one from William Ellery to Oliver Wolcott, jr., October 3, 1796, relative to some appointments; and several from Samuel Meredith, first treasurer of the United States, to his wife in 1790, which touch upon affairs in Congress.

The second volume (F to L) of Bradford's *Bibliographer's Manual of American History*, edited and revised by Stan. V. Henkels, is now out.

Messrs. Callaghan have recently issued a new edition of Boyd's *Cases on Constitutional Law*, published some ten years ago.

The Library of Congress has issued a *List of Works relating to Political Parties in the United States*, compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, chief bibliographer. The list has to do with books and articles on the formation and history of political parties in the United States, but not with those on the general political history of the nation, unless treating of party organization or party action.

Messrs. Harper and Brothers have issued *Decisive Battles of the Law*, by Frederick Trevor Hill. The book contains accounts of the following contests: United States *vs.* Callender, United States *vs.* Burr, Commonwealth of Virginia *vs.* John Brown, Scott *vs.* Sanford, the Impeachment of Andrew Johnson, the Alabama Arbitration, the Hayes-Tilden Contest and the People of Illinois *vs.* Spies.

The January number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* is a "symposium" of articles and addresses on "American Waterways". Some of the papers possess his-

torical as well as economic interest, notably, "Atlantic Coastwise Canals: their History and Present Status", by Dr. G. D. Luetscher; "The Anthracite-Tidewater Canals", by Dr. Chester Lloyd Jones; and "The New York Canals", by Professor John A. Fairlie.

The monograph of James M. Motley, Ph.D., entitled *Apprenticeship in American Trade Unions*, which appears as one of the Johns Hopkins University Studies, is, in about half of its contents, an historical study, containing useful chapters on apprenticeship as regulated by government, custom, trade-unions and trade agreement.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

A recent bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology is *Skeletal Remains suggesting or attributed to early Man in North America*, by Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, a study of all the known American human remains for which geological antiquity has been claimed.

A work of considerable magnitude and of importance for the investigation of our colonial history, undertaken by Lyman H. Weeks and Edwin M. Bacon as editors, and the Society Americana as publishers, is the preparation of *An Historical Digest of the Provincial Press*. The work is to be a digest of all items of personal reference and of historic events and documents printed in the newspapers of the provincial period. Many documents will be printed in their entirety, others reproduced in copious abstracts. The arrangement will be chronological, and a system of references will indicate the source and location of the original prints. The whole set will comprise twenty volumes of some five hundred pages each. Each volume will be provided with a copious index, and an exhaustive personal and analytical index, in a single volume, will conclude the series. The work is to be typographically attractive and will be illustrated with facsimiles of publications and with portraits.

The *Tagebuch* of Philipp Waldeck, chaplain of the third Waldeck regiment during its service in the Revolutionary War, has been published by the Americana Germanica Press, under the title *Philipp Waldeck's Diary of the American Revolution* (pp. xiii, 146) with an introduction by Professor Marion Dexter Learned. The text is printed from an original manuscript copy, now in possession of Dr. J. G. Rosengarten of Philadelphia, which varies somewhat from what is known as the Bancroft copy in the Lenox Library. The more important variations are indicated by Professor Learned in his introduction. The diary begins on May 20, 1776, the day the regiment marched out of Korbach, and ends in December, 1780, in Pensacola, where the Waldeckers had long been stationed. (The Rosengarten copy ends abruptly in March, several leaves having been lost.) The entries vary from brief exclamations anent the weather to passages occupying several pages. The fortunes of the regiment are chronicled as a rule briefly;

the longer passages are usually comments on customs and events or descriptions of scenes and places. There are also occasional accounts by Chaplain Waldeck of the performance of his spiritual functions. The diary is an important source for the history of the German allied troops, but it is also of interest for the glimpses of colonial life reflected from this German mind.

The Maine Society of the Sons of the American Revolution have published the proceedings at the unveiling, October 17, 1907, of the marker erected at Valley Forge by the state of Maine, under the auspices of the society, in honor of the Maine men, more than a thousand in number, who were at Valley Forge with Washington in the winter of 1777-1778. The chief address was one by Augustus F. Moulton of Portland, rehearsing the story of the winter at Valley Forge, and of Maine's representatives in Washington's army.

In *Old South Leaflets*, no. 186, Pelatiah Webster's *Dissertation on the Political Union and Constitution of the Thirteen United States* has been reprinted.

It is announced that Messrs. Putnam are to bring out, as a separate work in two volumes with the title *Madison's Journals of the Constitutional Convention*, the two volumes devoted to that matter in Mr. Gaillard Hunt's edition of the *Writings of James Madison*. We hope that it is not too late to protest against so inappropriate a title.

The *American Political Science Review* for February contains a valuable discussion of the "Political Theories of the Supreme Court from 1789 to 1835", by Charles G. Haines.

The Romance of an Old Time Shipmaster, edited by Ralph Paine, comprises the letters and journals of Captain John Willard Russell of Bristol, Rhode Island, a mariner who made numerous voyages to the West Indies during the period 1796 to 1813, and one to Africa on a slaving venture. The work is of interest for the picture of life on the sea in those times, particularly for the glimpse of the slave traffic, given by a man of some culture and taste.

The next number of this journal will contain the papers taken from Captain Zebulon M. Pike at Chihuahua in May, 1807, and lately discovered in the Mexican archives by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, together with some papers at Washington casting light on the origin and purposes of Pike's expedition.

The Addresses, Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Writings of Millard Fillmore, edited by Frank H. Severance of the Buffalo Historical Society, an undertaking mentioned hitherto in these pages, has been issued by the society. The work is in two volumes, comprising volumes X. and XI. of the society's *Publications*.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas joint debate is to be further commemorated by the publication through the Macmillan

Company of *Stephen A. Douglas: a Study in American Politics*, the work of Professor Allen Johnson of Bowdoin College. Professor Johnson has made use of material hitherto unpublished and aims to give an authentic and impartial account of Douglas's career as a national figure.

Lincoln and the New York Herald, privately printed at Plainfield, N. J., contains unpublished letters of Abraham Lincoln from the collection of Judd Stewart. There are facsimiles of letters written by Lincoln to George G. Fogg, secretary of the first Republican National Convention.

It is now announced by the publishers of *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, the McClure Company, that a third volume of the reminiscences was prepared by Mr. Schurz, bringing the narrative of his career down to the administration of Grant, and will be added to the two volumes already published. They announce also that a large quantity of material was left from which a further volume will be prepared by a competent historian to whom the work has already been entrusted.

Edward B. Eaton of Hartford has published a volume of original photographs taken on the battlefields during the Civil War by Mathew B. Brady and Alexander Gardner, who operated under the authority of the War Department and the protection of the secret service. The reproductions in this volume are selected from among the seven thousand original negatives now in the possession of Mr. Eaton.

The University Press of Sewanee, Tennessee, are the publishers of a life of General Edmund Kirby-Smith, by Arthur H. Noll. The book is made up largely of the letters of General Kirby-Smith.

Moffat, Yard and Company are about to bring out an account of *Stuart's Cavalry in the Gettysburg Campaign*, by Colonel John S. Mosby. The book will include also a sketch of the battle of Chancellorsville, in which Stuart succeeded Jackson.

Mr. Paul C. Chamberlain, son of Daniel H. Chamberlain, who was governor of South Carolina in 1874-1875, is engaged in the preparation of a life of his father and would be glad to communicate with persons who may possess letters of Governor Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain's address is 10 Torrington Square, London, W. C., England.

It is understood that Mr. Sherman Evarts is preparing an elaborate biography of his father, the late William M. Evarts, Secretary of State.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The Maine Historical Society has published in an illustrated pamphlet of fifty-eight pages an account of the proceedings at the society's celebration of the ter-centenary of the landing of the Popham colonists at the mouth of the Kennebec, August 29, 1607, containing addresses by the Honorable James P. Baxter, president of the society, Professor

Henry L. Chapman of Bowdoin College, Reverend Henry S. Burrage and Mr. Fritz H. Jordan.

The first number of *The Massachusetts Magazine* (January, 1908), a new quarterly "devoted to Massachusetts history, genealogy and biography", has just made its appearance. The editor is Thomas F. Waters and the publishers are the Salem Press Company. The *Magazine* expects to include: a compilation of the records of all the military organizations of the state in the Revolutionary War; pictures and short accounts of famous old houses; accounts of Massachusetts pioneers to other states; sketches of Massachusetts historical writers; errors in genealogy. There will be a regular "Department of the American Revolution", conducted by Dr. Frank A. Gardner, and a department of "Pilgrims and Planters", under the charge of Lucie M. Gardner. For the present number Thomas F. Waters writes an article on "Whittier, the Poet, as Historian"; and F. A. Gardner contributes articles on "Colonel John Glover's Marblehead Regiment" and "The Founders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony". Sketches of several historical writers are given.

The next volume of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society will contain a paper by Mr. Charles Francis Adams on President Lincoln's offer of a high military command to Garibaldi, a paper by Mr. Frank B. Sanborn on the history of Kansas from 1854 to 1861, a batch of documents referring to the John Brown trial, and some letters which passed between Edward Everett and John McLean in 1828 on the use of official patronage.

Old South Leaflet, no. 184, is a portion of Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, relating to the early history of Harvard College. No. 185 contains Mather's biographical sketches of the first two presidents, Dunster and Chauncy.

A valuable and interesting paper on *Early Oriental Commerce in Providence*, by Mr. William B. Weeden, has been printed in advance from the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for December, 1907.

Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons have brought out a new edition, in one volume (pp. xv, 560), of Mr. I. B. Richman's *Rhode Island: its Making and its Meaning*, published in two volumes in 1902.

The orderly-book of Colonel Christopher Greene, mentioned in these pages in January, has been presented to the Rhode Island Historical Society. The society has also received, as a gift from Senator Wetmore, the original volume containing the list of vessels sailing from Newport from 1785 to 1788, of interest chiefly for its description of the commerce of Newport.

The State of Connecticut in 1889 published a volume of *Record of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution*. New rolls coming to

light, the Connecticut Historical Society published in 1901 as the eighth volume of its collections *Rolls and Lists of Connecticut Men in the Revolution*. Sufficient information remaining still unpublished, the society is now preparing and during the current year will print as the twelfth volume of its *Collections* another volume of names of Connecticut men who served in the Revolution.

Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan has recently presented to the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, and that institution has deposited with the Connecticut Historical Society, a series of fifty-three manuscript letters written by Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford to Gen. Nathanael Greene. The letters are of the Revolutionary period, 1779-1785.

Records of the Congregational Church in Turkey Hills, now the Town of East Granby, Connecticut, 1776-1858, is the title of a volume of 158 pages recently published by Albert C. Bates, librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society, as the third in his "Turkey Hills Series" of records.

The editor of *Old^e Ulster* contributes to the January number of that periodical a short article relative to the use of the phrase "The Silver Covenant Chain", which frequently appears in the treaties made by the New York Indians. In the February number appears a first paper on Governor George Clinton; a sketch, "The Story of Kingston" and a continued paper, "Vaughan's Second Expedition". The latter article embodies a letter of some length from Commodore Hotham to Admiral Howe, October 9, 1777.

Silver, Burdett and Company have brought out a volume entitled *Reminiscences of Ogdensburg, 1749-1907*, edited by the Swe-kat-si chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Volume XXVI. of the *New Jersey Archives*, though bearing the imprint date, 1904, has but recently come from the press. This is the seventh of those volumes devoted to extracts from American newspapers relating to New Jersey, and covers the years 1768 and 1769. There is the usual variety of material, illustrating practically all phases of life, but it is noteworthy that so large a proportion of the extracts relate to economic conditions. There are many farms for sale and many executions for debt, as well as other indications of discontent; but there are indications also of development and progress. A number of important items are concerned with political problems, including the question of colonial relation to Parliament and the similar problem of the New Jersey episcopate.

The paper on "German Archives as Sources of German-American History", read before the Pennsylvania German Society in October, by Dr. Joseph G. Rosengarten, is printed in the November-December issue of *German-American Annals*. Professor Marion D. Learned's life of Pastorius is continued through the January-February issue. It is

announced that the *Annals* will shortly publish an article on "The History of the Germans in Texas", and another on "The Germans in Missouri".

The contributions in the January number of the *Pennsylvania-German* to the symposium on "The Pennsylvania-German in his Relation to Education", are: "A German Schoolmaster of 'Ye Olden Time'", by George May; "Three-score Years of Public-School Work", by John M. Wolf; "Reminiscences of a Former Hereford Schoolboy", by the editor. In the February issue appears an English translation of the sketch of Henry William [Baron] Stiegel contributed by C. F. Huch to the *Mitteilungen* of the Deutsche Pionier-Verein, also a brief historical sketch of Sumneytown and vicinity, by J. L. Roush.

History of Old Germantown, with a description of its settlement and some account of its important persons, buildings and places connected with its development, is the joint product of Dr. Naaman H. Keyser, C. H. Kain, J. P. Garber and H. F. McCann.

The *Westonian* (Westtown, Pa.) in its issue of "eleventh month, 1907", presents a useful article on "Quaker Literature in the Libraries of Philadelphia", by Mr. Albert J. Edmunds (pp. 22-203).

The December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains an unusual amount of valuable historical matter. "The Correspondence of Governor Eden" (June, 1771, to March, 1775) and "Some Revolutionary Letters" (Gist Papers), are the most important documentary publications. Dr. Bernard C. Steiner contributes an article on "Reports of the British Board of Trade and Plantations while Maryland was a Royal Province", quoting largely from reports of 1702 and 1703. An article under the heading "Maryland in 1773" is answers to queries that were sent by the Lords of Trade and Plantations to the lieutenant-governor of Maryland in the year 1761. "An Atlantic Voyage in the Seventeenth Century", by Henry F. Thompson, is based mainly on the "Journalls of the Outward and Homeward-bound Passages" of the ships *Constant Friendship* and *Baltimore*, which were in Maryland in 1671 and 1673. DeCourcy W. Thom contributes an article on "The Old Senate Chamber at Annapolis", and T. J. C. Williams a paper on Washington County, Maryland. A letter of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon (January 29, 1768), reporting the completion of their survey, also possesses a certain interest.

In the "Johns Hopkins University Studies" Mr. Hugh S. Hanna has a carefully composed and intelligent summary (pp. 131) entitled *The Financial History of Maryland, 1789-1848*.

The first volume of *Men of Mark in Maryland* has come from the press of Johnson-Wynne Company, Washington. The work contains an introductory chapter on Maryland: Proprietary Province and State, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner. There are numerous full-page engravings.

The *Fourth Annual Report of the Library Board of the Virginia State Library*, dated November 1, 1907, reports considerable progress made in the preparation of the proposed Calendar of Petitions and of the proposed Bibliography of Colonial Virginia, though much of the time of the departments of archives and bibliography was in 1907 consumed by labors connected with the Jamestown Exposition. The remarkable exhibit of historical manuscripts which the library made at that exposition is fully described in an itemized list in one of the appendixes.

The Virginia State Library has begun the issue of a quarterly *Bulletin*. The first number (January, 1908) is a "provisional list of works on genealogy and works helpful in genealogical research in the Virginia State Library, including references to family names occurring frequently in the more comprehensive Virginia genealogies". The list of works occupies six pages of the bulletin, the list of family names twenty-one.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* will continue during 1908 the publications of the journals of the council of Virginia in executive sessions, Virginia legislative papers, and Revolutionary army orders for the main army under Washington, 1778-1779. It is also in contemplation to print during the present year the volume of commissions, letters, etc., kept by the clerk of the council, 1690-1698, to begin the printing of the unpublished portions of the collection of Virginia records known as the Randolph Manuscripts, and to resume the publication of abstracts and copies from the English records, filling in the gap between 1625 and 1628 and continuing the series from 1640, the date at which it was suspended two years ago. The latest number of the *Magazine* (January) prints, in addition to the series hitherto noted, some documents relating to the French and Indian War, 1755-1762, edited by Charles E. Kemper; and some orders and proclamations for Virginia, 1664 to 1666, relative to prizes, protection of shipping, etc.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* resumes, in the January issue, the publication of the diary of Colonel Landon Carter, which was suspended a year ago. The portions here printed are of the year 1776. Among the other documentary publications in this issue is a selection of papers, of the later eighteenth century, relating to William and Mary College.

A History of Orange County, Virginia, from its Formation in 1734 to the End of Reconstruction in 1870, by W. W. Scott (Richmond, E. Wadley Company, pp. 292) is said to be compiled mainly from original records.

The stenographic notes of debates in the convention which framed the first constitution for the state of West Virginia, made by an assistant clerk of the body, Granville D. Hall, have been acquired by the

Department of Archives and History of West Virginia, and will eventually be published by the department. The notes when printed will make three or four volumes.

A general index to the first seven volumes of the *Biographical History of North Carolina*, by Samuel A. Ashe, has been issued. An index to the entire work will appear in the last volume.

The Genesis of South Carolina, 1562-1670, mainly a volume of reprints, with an introduction by W. A. Courtenay, is privately printed at Columbia by the State Company. The contents of the volume are: Laudonnière's narrative, 1562; W. N. Sainsbury, *Later Settlements of French Protestants in America* (reprinted from the *Antiquary*, London, 1881); the preface to the fifth volume of *Collections* of the South Carolina Historical Society; William Hilton's *Relation*, 1664; Robert Sandford, "A Relation of a Voyage on the Coast of the Province of South Carolina", 1666 (now first printed from the Shaftesbury Papers in the Public Record Office, London); "A Relation of the Voyage of the Colonists who sailed from the Thames in August, 1669, and founded Charlestown" (now first printed from the Shaftesbury Papers); and "The Discoveries of John Lederer", 1672.

The first volume of *Men of Mark in South Carolina* has appeared. It is edited by J. C. Hemphill and published by Men of Mark Publishing Company, Washington.

The *Sixth Annual Report* of the director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi, Dr. Dunbar Rowland (pp. 59), covers the period from October 1, 1906, to October 1, 1907. Beside the data usual in such reports, information is especially given concerning progress of archive researches in foreign countries for the benefit of Mississippi history. Including the period to the present month, the department has received ten volumes of transcripts from the Public Record Office in London, relating to the English occupation of West Florida, three volumes from the French archives, and six from the Archives of the Indies and Seville. The first volume of the *Mississippi Provincial Archives, English Dominion*, is in course of preparation and is expected to be ready for publication during the coming summer. A new issue of the quadrennial *Mississippi Official and Statistical Register*, containing more abundant historical data than the edition for 1904, will be ready for distribution April 15.

The Mississippi Historical Society held its ninth public meeting at Jackson, January 9 and 10. Of the numerous papers read at the two sessions of the society the following may be mentioned: "The Work of the Mississippi Historical Society", by Professor Franklin L. Riley; "What an Historical Society Should Accomplish", by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart; "Aaron Burr in Mississippi", by Bishop Charles B. Galloway; "Jefferson Davis at West Point", by Professor Walter L.

Fleming; "The Beginnings of Presbyterianism in Mississippi", by Rev. T. L. Haman. There were also papers on reconstruction in some Mississippi counties. In connection with the meeting of the society there was a special conference of history teachers at which conditions and problems were discussed from many points of view.

Provided a sufficient number of subscriptions can be obtained, officials of the archives of the Ministry of the Colonies of the French Republic propose to print a detailed calendar of the documents in the series "Correspondance Générale, Louisiane". Beside the fifty-eight volumes embraced in the series properly so entitled, it is intended to include a list of the letters sent, in Series B, relating to Louisiana, and such other Louisiana material as may be found in the colonial archives. The work would be published in one or two volumes, at a price of between ten and twenty francs. The utility of such a work for Southwestern history would be so great that we cordially hope that all who take an interest in its promotion and who could ensure subscriptions to the volume will write to M. Wirth, at the archives of the Ministry of Colonies, expressing such encouragement.

Among the doctoral dissertations presented to the Faculty of Letters at the University of Paris, in December, was one by M. Pierre Heinrich on "La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes, 1717-1731", which may be expected ultimately to be printed.

A paper in the *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association for January by Miss Kate Mason Rowland on General John Thomson Mason, "an early friend of Texas", contains much material of value for Texan history in the thirties. Letters to and from General Mason as confidential agent of the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company are largely quoted. In the same number of the *Quarterly* Charles W. Ramsdell presents a study of "Texas from the Fall of the Confederacy to the Beginning of Reconstruction", based largely on official records and newspapers. There is also a translation, by Mrs. Mattie Austin Hatcher, of "Joaquin de Arredondo's Report of the Battle of the Medina, August 18, 1813".

The valuable collection of documents known as the Austin Papers, in the possession of the University of Texas, are being arranged, catalogued and made available for historical reference. The collection contains some ten thousand documents of all sorts—letters, decrees of the Mexican government, agreements, etc.—ranging in date from about 1790 to 1836.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association, whose origin has been described in our article on the Madison meeting, proposes to hold two meetings each year, one in December, in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, the other in June. The meeting of June 1908 will be held at Lake Minnetonka, Minnesota.

The Macmillan Company announce for early publication *The Wilderness Road*, by H. Addington Bruce. The central theme of the book is the opening up of the trans-Alleghany region in the last half of the eighteenth century, and Daniel Boone is the central figure.

The *Quarterly Publication* of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio prints in its issue for July-September a number of letters, mainly from the collection of Torrence Papers in the possession of the society, designed to illustrate certain phases of the earlier political and personal career of General William Henry Harrison. Nine of the sixteen letters here printed are from Harrison himself, ranging in date from 1800 to 1828. The letters are arranged and edited by Professor Isaac J. Cox, who purposes treating the later correspondence of General Harrison in a subsequent issue of the *Quarterly*.

The January issue of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* devotes some thirty pages to accounts of the old forts Loramie and Pickawillany. There are brief articles on "Rivalry between Early Ohio and Kentucky Settlers", "The John Morgan Raid in Ohio" and "The Indian Attack on Fort Dunlap", the latter by Stephen D. Cone.

Mr. C. E. Lart, of Dorset, England, contributes to the January issue of the "*Old Northwest*" *Genealogical Quarterly* a first paper on "The Noblesse of Canada". The papers of Governor Allen Trimble (1823-1830), which the *Quarterly* has been publishing for some months, occupy a large portion of the present number.

The Indiana State Library is the recipient of a collection of letters and other manuscript materials relating to Sunday-school work in the United States during more than half a century. The collection was made by the late William H. Levering.

The papers on internal improvements in Indiana, which appear in the December number of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, relate to early movements for railroad building in the state.

The Illinois State Historical Society has now in press the volume of the *Lincoln-Douglas Debates* edited by Professor Edwin Erle Sparks. Meanwhile three other important documentary volumes are being edited for the society: *The Letter-books of the Early Governors of Illinois*, by Professor E. B. Greene; *The George Rogers Clark Papers*, by Professor J. A. James; and *The Kaskaskia Records*, by Professor C. W. Alvord. It is expected that all these will be issued within the next eighteen months.

The *Annual Report* of the Chicago Historical Society contains a list of the manuscript accessions during the past year. Some mention of the more important of these was made in our July issue.

The Ambrose Lee Publishing Company have issued *Tennessee in the War, 1861-1865* (pp. 225), by General Marcus J. Wright. The

book contains lists of military organizations and military and naval officers pertaining to the state, both Union and Confederate; lists of the Tennessee members of the Congress of the Confederacy and of the United States; also accounts of campaigns, battles, affairs and skirmishes within the limits of the state.

The celebration of the semi-centennial of the opening of the Saint Marys Falls Canal has been given appropriate record in an attractive volume bearing the title, *The Saint Marys Falls Canal*, edited and compiled by Charles Moore and published at Detroit by the Semi-Centennial Commission. The volume comprises a complete record of the exercises at the celebration at Sault Sainte Marie on August 2 and 3, 1905, including the several addresses delivered on the occasion, together with numerous other records and facts pertaining to the canal. Of chief interest to the historical student are the "History of the Saint Marys Falls Canal" (pp. 89-186), by John H. Goff, and an historical address by the Honorable Peter White.

We have received several separates from the *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the year 1907, relating to the various phases of the history of Wisconsin. Papers deserving of notice, besides some which we have heretofore mentioned, are "Wisconsin's Emblems and Sobriquet", by Dr. R. G. Thwaites; "Reminiscences of a Pioneer in the Rock River Country", by Edwin D. Coe; "Annals of the Early Protestant Churches at Superior", by Rev. J. M. Barnett; and "The Polish People of Portage County", by A. H. Sanford.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has issued a handsome volume of some 475 pages entitled *Proceedings of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Constitution of Iowa*, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. As mentioned in the July number of the REVIEW, this celebration was held at Iowa City, March 19 to 22, under the auspices of the society. The present volume embodies a complete history of the commemoration, including all addresses. The principal addresses were: "A Written Constitution in Some of its Historical Aspects", by Professor A. C. McLaughlin; "The Relation between General History and the History of Law", by Professor Eugene Wambaugh; "The Romance of Mississippi Valley History", by Dr. R. G. Thwaites; "The Amendment of the Constitution", by Governor A. B. Cummins; "The Constitutional Convention and the Issues before it", by Justice Emlin McClain. A conference on the teaching of history comprised the following: "The Relation of History to Economics", by Professor L. W. Parish; "The Place of History in the Technical School", by Professor O. H. Cessna; "The Best Methods of Teaching History", by Professor W. C. Wilcox and Mr. Seth Thomas; "Local Government as a Key to General History", by Professor Jesse Macy and F. H. Garver. A conference on the work of local historical societies occupies upwards of fifty pages

of the volume. The Constitution of 1857, with subsequent amendments, and a brief history of the State Historical Society of Iowa are given in an appendix. There are portraits of the surviving members of the constitutional conventions, and a print of the old stone capitol, "the birthplace of the constitution of 1857".

The Administrative Departments, Offices, Boards, Commissions and Public Institutions of Iowa from 1838 to 1897: a Study in Administration, by John C. Parish (Iowa City, 1908, pp. 356), is a carefully prepared analysis of the administrative organization in Iowa from the beginning of its existence as a separate territory. In general, the arrangement is in three chronological periods: the territorial, 1838-1846; the period of the first state constitution, 1846-1857; the period of the second constitution, from 1857 to the present time. The principal facts are given not only concerning the permanent offices, boards and public institutions of the several periods, but also concerning such temporary bodies as, commissioners to locate and establish the permanent seat of government for the territory, agent to raise a company of volunteers, commissioners for the relief of sufferers from the grasshopper raid, etc. Under each such heading is given the name, legal status, date of establishment, date of discontinuance, composition, manner of appointment or election, incumbents, powers, duties, functions, etc., requirements as to records, reports, etc. It appears as a separate and also as the appendix to the *Second Report on the Public Archives of Iowa*, by Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh, constituting the bulk of that report.

Mr. Louis Pelzer contributes to the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* a paper on "The History and Principles of the Democratic Party of the Territory of Iowa", parallel to his article on the Whigs in an earlier number of the *Journal*. These studies are valuable for the insight they give into the process of moulding into form the heterogeneous political elements in a young and vigorous territory, and for incidental light on national politics. The present number contains also a paper on "The History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa, 1846-1861", by Dan E. Clark, and an interesting account, by John C. Parish, of "An Early Fugitive Slave Case West of the Mississippi River".

The principal article in the January issue of the *Annals of Iowa* is an appreciative sketch, by Edward H. Stiles, of the career of Henry Clay Caldwell, federal judge for the eastern district of Arkansas from 1864 to 1890, and of the eighth circuit from 1890 to 1903. Mr. L. H. Pammel's paper on Dr. Edwin James is concluded in this number. Some correspondence of A. C. Dodge and Thomas H. Benton on the public lands, the homestead bill and the Pacific Railroad is also of interest.

The mass of French and Spanish manuscripts found some time ago in the office of the recorder of deeds of New Madrid County, Missouri, has been transferred to the Missouri Historical Society. There are some eleven or twelve volumes of these manuscripts, of the period from about 1785 to 1810 or 1815. They comprise contracts, petitions, letters, records of suits, etc. The society is now having the manuscripts indexed.

The January number of the *Missouri Historical Review*, published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, contains the concluding paper by Professor P. O. Ray on "The Retirement of Thomas H. Benton from the Senate and its Significance"; a paper on "The Democratic State Convention of Missouri in 1860", by J. F. Snyder; and a "Bibliography of Missouri Biography", by F. A. Sampson.

It is a pleasure to note the creditable progress made by the Oklahoma Historical Society since its first organization by the editors of the territory at their annual meeting held at Kingfisher in May, 1890. Two years later the society was reorganized and made a trustee of the territory and is now supported principally by state appropriations. The society is making energetic efforts to procure documentary materials and publications relating to Oklahoma, making a specialty of Oklahoma newspapers, of which it already possesses at Oklahoma City a large collection.

The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town is an interesting monograph by Frank G. Speck, which appears as part II. of volume II. of the *Memoirs* of the American Anthropological Association. There is a brief historical sketch, followed by descriptive accounts of material culture, social organization, customs, etc., together with a number of myths.

The legislature of Nebraska has made an appropriation toward the erection of a home for the Nebraska State Historical Society, and it is expected that the building will be begun in the near future. The twelfth volume of the society's *Publications*, as also the second volume of the debates and proceedings in the Nebraska Constitutional Convention of 1871, have just come from the press. The society will also shortly issue a volume of proceedings and collections.

At the instance of the Relief Committee of San Francisco and under the supervision of Professor H. Morse Stephens of the University of California, a remarkable collection of materials on the events of the earthquake and San Francisco fire of April, 1906, has been made. Copies of proceedings of civil and military authorities of all grades, first-hand reports of firemen and police, narratives of the personal experiences of some three thousand private citizens, have been supplemented by thousands of newspaper clippings and by files of some eight hundred newspapers from all parts of the world, for several weeks

after the catastrophe. The whole mass affords a basis for an unusually satisfactory account of a great public disaster and of the method and spirit in which the crisis was met by the people.

History of San Diego, 1542-1907 (pp. 736), by William E. Smythe, has been published at San Diego by the History Company.

A revised and enlarged edition of *The Life and Times of General John A. Sutter*, by T. J. Schoonover, has been issued by Bullock-Carpenter Printing Company, Sacramento.

The *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society publishes in its June issue part two of Professor F. G. Young's valuable contribution to the "Financial History of Oregon". The present paper (60 pages) treats of the finances of the territorial period, 1849-1859. The same number contains, under the title "Two of Oregon's Foremost Commonwealth Builders", appreciative accounts of Judge Reuben Patrick Boise and Professor Thomas Condon. The September issue of the *Quarterly* contains an article by Mr. Clyde B. Aitchison on the Mormon settlements in the Missouri Valley, and prints a letter of Dr. John McLoughlin to the *Oregon Statesman*, June 8, 1852, of interest for the light which it throws upon political conditions in Oregon. The December issue prints the address on the career of Dr. McLoughlin delivered by Mr. Frederick V. Holman at the dedication of the McLoughlin Institute at Oregon City, October 6, 1907. Mr. T. W. Davenport continues through the several numbers his "Recollections of an Indian Agent".

In the thirteenth volume of the *Hawaiian Historical Society Papers* Mr. Robert C. Lydecker has an article on the archives of Hawaii.

"In and About Halifax", by Reginald V. Harris, and "Historical Sketch of the Town of Shelburne, N. S.", by R. R. McLeod, are the principal articles in the January *Acadiensis*. Professor W. F. Ganong announces that he will publish from time to time in *Acadiensis* notes on the historical geography of New Brunswick, comprising such new material as may have been brought to light since the publication of his monograph on that subject. To the present number he contributes a note on the site of the old garrison at Presquile.

The International Bureau of American Republics has issued a list of the works on Latin-American history and description in the Columbus Memorial Library. The list is classified by countries and includes public documents and recent magazine articles. (Washington, 1907, pp. 98.)

The important study of Aztec chronology, *Los Calendarios Mexicanos*, by Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, a very defective edition of which was published in the author's *Historia Antigua de Méjico* in 1836, has been issued in a new and sumptuous edition by the Museo Nacional de México, with an introduction by Genaro García.

The Mexican Ministry of Public Instruction has planned to commemorate the revolutionary war of 1810-1821 by a series of twenty large quarto volumes, well illustrated, which will be issued in the years from 1910 to 1921, under the editorship of a commission appointed by the ministry, with Señor Genaro García as chairman. The title of the series will be *Documentos para la Historia de la Guerra de Independencia Mexicana*. The general plan of the volumes may be stated as follows: I. Unpublished or rare documents relative to plans of independence before 1808, including that of Aaron Burr; II. Unpublished documents concerning the plan of independence of 1808; III. Treason trials of 1809; IV., V. Father Mier's practically unpublished History of the Revolt of New Spain; VI., VII., VIII., IX. The war of insurrection according to the reports of military chieftains on both sides, either manuscript or from contemporary newspapers; X., XI. Unpublished trials of Doña Leona Vicario and Don Ignacio Allende; XII., XIII. Rare printed documents of the period; XIV. The Mexican women insurgents; XV. The Mexican deputies in the Cortes, etc. The work will be published under the auspices of the National Museum.

Mines of Chihuahua, by Jorge Griggs, director of the Permanent Mining Exposition of that state (Chihuahua, 1907, pp. 349, xiii) contains, along with a great variety of miscellaneous information, a considerable amount of historical material relating to the mining industry in the state and to particular mines.

Paul Elder and Company announce that they will shortly publish a volume entitled *The Mother of California* by Arthur Walbridge North, an historical sketch of Baja California from the days of Cortez to the present time, "depicting the ancient missions, the mines, and the physical, social and political aspects of the country". The work is to contain numerous illustrations and "the most accurate and only complete map of the country ever made".

Panama: a Personal Record of Forty-Six Years, 1861-1907 (pp. xiii, 282) by Tracy Robinson, has been issued by the Star and Herald Company, New York and Panama.

The first volume of *Historia de Centro América*, by Eduardo Martínez López, covers the period 1502-1821 (Tegucigalpa, Tipografía Nacional).

During the year 1906 the Royal Society of Sciences of Göttingen printed the text of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's *Historia Indica* (which had lain in the library of the University of Göttingen almost unnoticed since 1785), accompanied by a scholarly introduction and notes by Dr. Richard Peitschman. This work, together with the account of the execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru written in 1610 by Captain Baltasar de Ocampo, who was an eyewitness of the affair,

has now been translated and edited for the Hakluyt Society by Sir Clements Markham, who also writes an introduction. The whole, bearing the title *History of the Incas*, etc., forms volume XXII. of the society's second series.

The Hispanic Society of America has in preparation a volume by Mr. Adolph F. Bandelier, *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, which will treat both of the actual customs of the Bolivian (Aymara) Indians of the lake region and of the culture of the ancient inhabitants of the two islands.

Mr. R. R. Schuller has printed in an edition of one hundred copies a handsome volume on the bibliography of the Indian languages current in early Chile, *El Vocabulario Araucano de 1642-1643, con Notas Críticas i Algunas Adiciones á las Bibliografías de la Lengua Mapuche* (Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Cervantes, 1907, pp. 286). The first part reproduces the vocabulary given by Barlaeus in his *Rerum per Octenium in Brasilia gestarum* (1647); the second lists some 284 works, with critical descriptions.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. C. McLaughlin, *The Significance of Political Parties* (Atlantic Monthly, February); Lester F. Ward, *The Sociology of Political Parties* (American Journal of Sociology, January); Louis Pendleton, *The Question of State Sovereignty* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); Gaillard Hunt, *The History of the Department of State* (American Journal of International Law, October); William D. Guthrie, *The Eleventh Article of Amendment to the Constitution of the United States* (Columbia Law Review, March); Charles N. Gregory, *Federal Treaties and State Laws* (Michigan Law Review, November); Edward Cahill, *Historical Lights from Judicial Decisions* (Michigan Law Review, January); C. Dickinson Sturge, *Friends in Barbadoes* (The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, January); Agnes C. Laut, *Henry Hudson, Dreamer and Discoverer*, concluded (Appleton's Magazine, January); William H. Loyd, jr., *The Courts of Pennsylvania Prior to 1701* (American Law Register, December); H. V. Ross, *Last Letters of Wolfe and Montcalm* (Canadian Magazine, February); Captain George S. Simonds, *New Light on the Campaign in Canada under Sir Guy Carleton in 1776, and Burgoyne's Expedition from Canada in 1777* (Journal of the United States Infantry Association, November); A. W. Savary, *The Narrative of Colonel Fanning*, cont. (Canadian Magazine, January-February); Lieutenant-Commander Edward L. Beach, U. S. N., *The Court-Martial of Commodore David Porter* (Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, December); C. O. Paullin, *Naval Administration, 1842-1861* (*ibid.*); Edwin V. O'Hara, *Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon* (Catholic University Bulletin, February); *Narrative of Army Service in the Mexican War and on the Plains, 1846-1853*, from the journal of

Lieutenant T. W. Sweeny, edited by W. M. Sweeny (Journal of the Military Service Institution, January-February); *The Letters of General Charles S. Hamilton, written from the Seat of War in Mexico* (Metropolitan Magazine, January); A. H. Wright, *A New Light on Lincoln as an Advocate* (The Green Bag, February); G. W. Wilton, *Judah Philip Benjamin* (Juridical Review, January); E. F. Andrews, *Across the Track of Sherman's Army: Being Extracts from the War-time Journal of a Georgia Girl* (Appleton's Magazine, March).